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A HISTORY OF
DUNSTER

A HISTORY OF
DUNSTER

AND OF THE FAMILIES OF MOHUN & LUTTRELL

BY

SIR H.C. MAXWELL LYTE, K.C.B.

Deputy Keeper of the Records.

PART II

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CHAPTER X.

The topography of Dunster.

The station of the Great Western Railway bearing the name of 'Dunster' is actually in the parish of Carhampton. A little to the south of it stands Marsh Bridge, formerly of some importance as situate on the road between the Haven, or sea-port, of Dunster and the town. It was reckoned to be in Dunster, and in the middle ages the commonalty of that borough was responsible for its maintenance.[1] Higher Marsh, now a farmhouse close by, seems to occupy the site of Marsh Place, the cradle of the Stewkleys, who eventually became rich and migrated to Hinton Ampner in Hampshire. Further south are several scattered houses, dignified collectively by the name of Marsh Street.

There were formerly two public approaches to the town of Dunster from the north. One of these, known in the fourteenth century as Brook Lane, diverged from the highroad between Carhampton and Minehead at the western end of Loxhole Bridge, formerly Brooklanefoot Bridge, which spans the river that there divides the parishes of Carhampton and Dunster.[2] The other, skirting round the eastern side of Conigar, was a southern continuation of Marsh Street, and was anciently known as St. Thomas's Street,

[1] D.C.M. xii. 4. *Wills*, vol. iii. p. 195.
[2] D.C.M. i. 4; *Somerset Medieval*

from a chapel on the north side of it, dedicated to that saint. [1] After the disappearance of the chapel, the street gradually acquired a new name. In 1735, Dr. Poole was fined 6*s*. 8*d*. by the court of the borough " for causing cobb to be made in the street called Rattle Row, otherwise called St. Thomas's Street, in the common highway leading from Dunster town's end to Minehead. " Brook Lane and Rattle Row were alike superseded, soon after 1830, by a broader and easier ascent to the town, about midway between them. The course of the former is still marked by a right of way for pedestrians ; the latter is closed.

Near the place where the two roads from the north converged stood of old ' le barrys, ' which was presumably one of the boundaries of the space available for markets and fairs. In the reign of Henry the Seventh, there is mention of ' le est baryer ' and ' le west baryer. ' [2] The rising ground to the right of the former has for some time been known as ' the Ball. ' In 1743, John Delbridge was presented at the local court for making an encroachment on the lady's waste, by building on a place called ' the Ball. ' Few street views in England have been more often drawn, painted, and photographed than that from this spot, with the *Luttrell Arms Hotel* on the left and the Market-House on the right, backed by the wooded Tor and the Castle.

The main street of Dunster running southward from the Ball, has, in the course of centuries, borne various names. In the reign of Henry the Third, Reynold de Mohun styles it North Street (*vicus del Nord*). [3] In 1362 and 1432, it is called ' Chepyng-

[1] D.C.M. XII. 4 ; XIX. 4.
[2] D.C.M. XIII. 1.
[3] See above, page 277.

THE HIGH STREET,
DUNSTER.

strete,' rendered in Latin as '*Vicus Foralis.*' At a later period, the old English name was supplanted by an equivalent in the form of 'la Market Streete,' which occurs in 1478. Eleven years later, it is called 'Eststrete.'[1] In 1648, there is mention of 'the markett streete of Dunster called the High Streete.'[2] Savage, in 1830, describes it as 'Fore Street.'[3]

A little to the south of the Ball stood the Corn Cross, mentioned in 1705 as close to the Wheat Market. To the east of it was a building known as the Tub House. The whole site is now quite bare.

Nothing is known as to the exact date of the erection of the octagonal Market-House which is one of the most picturesque objects of the sort in England. It may, however, be ascribed to George Luttrell, the first of that name. The sellers of cloth or other merchandise formerly stood under its shelter back to back and carried on their business with purchasers outside. One of the rafters still has a hole through it made by a cannon-ball from the Castle during the siege in the middle of the seventeenth century. The roof must have been renewed after this, for the vane bears the initials of the second George Luttrell, with the date '1647.'

Some shambles were erected in the Market Street of Dunster in 1423, with timber from the Hanger Park close by.[4] Various pictures and plans made in the early part of the nineteenth century show that they extended some distance southward from the Market-House, thus dividing the street into two parallel ways, the eastern much wider than the western. In the middle was the wooden building known as the Town Hall. There is a record in 1426 of the

[1] D.C.M. VIII. 2.
[2] D.C.M. XV. 30
[3] *Hundred of Carhampton*, p. 381.
[4] D.C.M. XI. 3.

cost of making a new pillory *(collistrigium)* in the market-place with timber brought from Marshwood.[1] A prison, or 'stockhowse,' is mentioned in the seventeenth century.[2] Each trade had its own section of the shambles, and the lord got rent from all. In the seventeenth century, the rate for 'shops inclosed' was much higher than that for 'standings' occupied by butchers, shoemakers and the like.[3] The old Town Hall, the range of shops in the middle of the street, and the open shambles were alike demolished in 1825, when "a new and convenient market house," not remarkable for beauty, was erected by John Fownes Luttrell on the eastern side of the street.[4] Some medieval shambles may still be seen in the county of Somerset at Shepton Mallet.[5]

The first building on the left is the well-known hostelry called the *Luttrell Arms Hotel*, which appears to occupy the site of three ancient houses. In 1443, William Dodesham, son and heir of Ellen daughter and heiress of Robert Homond, conveyed to Richard Luttrell, esquire, two messuages on the east side of the Market Street of Dunster, bounded on the south by a house already belonging to the purchaser, on the north by the road leading towards Marsh, and on the east by the park of the lord of Dunster. The property, which was in the hands of feoffees in 1467, was, in 1499, conveyed to Sir Hugh Luttrell and Margaret his wife in fee, and it thus became an integral part of the demesne of subsequent lords of Dunster.[6]

The arched doorway, with quatrefoils in the span-

[1] D.C.M. XI. 3.
[2] D.C.M. XV. 30.
[3] D.C.M. XI. 51.
[4] Savage's *Hundred of Carhampton*, p. 381.
[5] See the illustrations in *Proceedings of the Somerset Archæological Society*, vol. liii.
[6] D.C.M. VIII. 2.

IN THE LUTTRELL ARMS HOTEL.

IN THE CASTLE.

OVERMANTELS,
DUNSTER.

drels, and the northern wing may perhaps be assigned to the early part of the sixteenth century. The exterior of the latter is richly carved in oak, having a double row of windows with panelling between them, not unlike that of the principal screen in the church. An open roof to the upper storey was until a few years ago hidden by a plaster ceiling.

The porch-tower facing the street and part of the adjoining fabric appear to have been built, or very materially altered, between the years 1622 and 1629.

In one of the rooms on the first floor, there is a shield commemorating the marriage of George Luttrell of Dunster Castle and his second wife, Silvestra Capps. In another room there is a remarkable plaster overmantel of the same period. An oval in the centre of it is believed to represent Actæon being devoured by hounds. On either side stands a lady richly attired, each, however, showing one leg quite bare from the thigh downwards. Above, two lions carry shields of the arms of England and France. A male figure within a triangle between them may possibly be intended to represent either the King of the day or George Luttrell. The face is almost grotesque. An overmantel at Dunster Castle, obviously by the same hand, bears the date '1620,' and there is a third example of his work at Marshwood.

The whole building has been an inn for a considerable period. In a valuation of the year 1651, it is described as '*The Ship*,' and entered as worth 16*l.* a year. At the beginning of 1736, a large new sign-

post made of timber and iron was set up in front of the house and painted by Richard Phelps. The keepers of some other inns and taverns in Dunster may have regarded it as prejudicial to their interests. The following occurs in the record of the borough court held in October of that year ;—

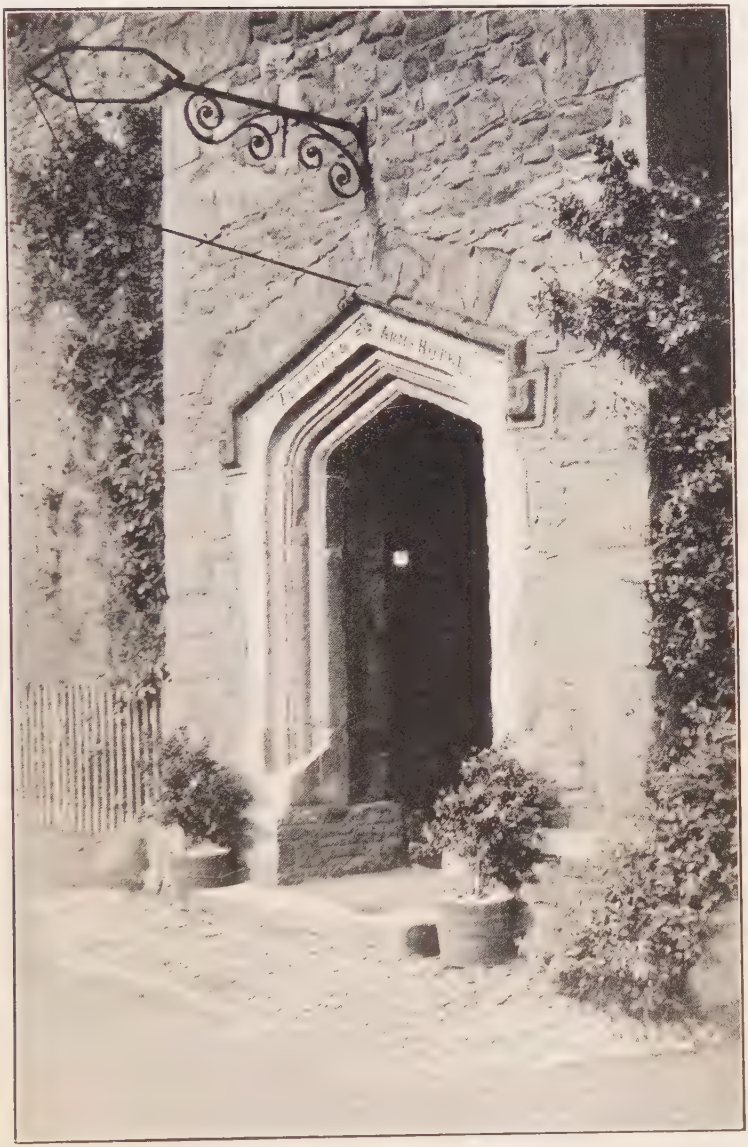
"We present Philip Harrison for his base usage to the lord of the manor for pulling down and destroying of the sign and sign-post belonging to the house called the *Ship Inn* in Dunster, being a very great imposition upon the lord of the manor and cost and charge, for which we do amerce the said Philip Harrison 5*l.*"

The matter did not stop here, for, in 1739, the receiver of Miss Margaret Luttrell's rents debited himself with 11*l.* 10*s.* from William Hoyle and Philip Harrison, "moneys recovered on a judgment, for pulling down the sign of *the Ship*."

Some greater misfortune afterwards befell the house, for in 1777, "the ruins of the old *Ship Inn* and garden," yielded no rent. In the autumn of that year, James Stowey prepared "a plan and elevation for the *Ship Inn*" at a charge of 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* After the necessary alterations, the premises became the *Luttrell Arms Hotel*, and advertisements for a suitable tenant were issued in 1779. So conservative, however, were the parochial authorities that they continued for ten years to assess them under the name of the *Ship Inn*. The landlord, John Mountstephen, of course called his house by the name which it still bears.[1]

Several houses in High Street retain traces of Elizabethan work, although most of their exteriors have been unfortunately modernized. At the bottom of the street stood formerly the High Cross, called also the Market Cross and, later, the Butter Cross. From

[1] Chadwick Healey's *History of part of West Somerset*, p. 400.



LUTTRELL ARMS HOTEL.
DUNSTER.
THE ENTRANCE.

this point a direct continuation of High Street leads steeply up to the Castle Bailey, while the main thoroughfare turns sharply to the right.

The house next but one to the south-western end of High Street once belonged to the Abbey of Cleeve and was known as 'le Smyth'[1] The last house in the street was known in the fifteenth century as 'le Cornershoppe.' After being rebuilt by William Snell about 1410, it came to be called 'the Cage House,' presumably on account of its shape and wooden construction.[2] The ancient cellars remain, but all the rest of it was rebuilt in the early part of the nineteenth century by Dr. Abraham, who had bought the house from John Fownes Luttrell. The house adjoining it on the west, once belonging to the chantry of St. Lawrence, was rebuilt at the same time. Opposite to the Cage House was 'the Glasiar's House,' mentioned under that name in 1647 and again 1684.[3]

The thoroughfare turning westward between the Cage House and the Glazier's House has borne different names. In 1367, it is called simply "the street which leads from Market Street towards the churchyard."[4] So again in 1636, it is called "the strete which leadeth from the Markett Crosse towards the church of Dunster."[5] It was, however, generally known as 'New Street' in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[6] Conveyances of the years 1781, 1804, and 1834, describe it 'Middle Street,' while the parochial authorities of 1760 and 1782 called it 'Church Street,' the name which it now bears.

On the north side of Church Street and separated from the Corner Shop, or Cage House, by a tenement

[1] D.C.B. no. 44.
[2] D.C.M. I. 27; III. 12; VIII. 2; XIII. 2; XV. 37; Rentals of 1739 & 1777; Rate-book of 1774.
[3] D.C.M. III. 12; XV. 38.
[4] D.C.B. no. 43.
[5] D.C.M. XV. 49.
[6] D.C.B. no. 91. D.C.M. *passim.*

formerly belonging to the Chantry of St. Lawrence is a long and picturesque building with projecting eaves partially covered with small slates. In 1346, Hugh Pyrou (or Pero) of Oaktrow in Cutcombe obtained royal licence to grant to the Abbot and Convent of Cleeve in mortmain three messuages and a yearly rent of 12*d.* in Dunster.[1] His benefaction probably included the site of this building, which may have been erected by the monks soon afterwards. The finials of the two gables and a small original window in the eastern wall seem to date from the fourteenth century. In course of time the Abbot and Convent acquired several houses in Dunster, including the smithy already mentioned and a fulling mill in the western part of the town. Their rent therefrom amounted in 1535, to 4*l.* 7*s.*, out of which they used to pay 4*s.* to the Castle of Dunster, presumably the old rent of four burgages, and to distribute 17*s.* in alms for the soul of Pyrou and others.[2] At the dissolution of the monasteries, all their property passed to the Crown, which consequently became liable to the Luttrells for the rent of 4*s.*

In 1609, George Salter of the parish of St. Dunstan in the West, London, gentleman, bought from the King a great number of houses and lands in different parts of England, including the houses in Dunster that had belonged to Cleeve Abbey.[3] He seems to have been either an agent for other persons, or a speculator on his own account, for he soon split up his purchase.[4] Further subdivisions followed in the course of the next few years, and it was not until 1620 that Robert Quircke of Minehead, mariner, acquired the two separate tenements in Dunster "commonly knowne

[1] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1345-1348*, p. 67.
[2] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. i. p. 217.
[3] Patent Roll, 7 Jac. I. parts 22, 34, 35.
[4] Close Roll, 10 Jac. I. part 32.

by the name or names of ' the Highe Howse or Howses, ' " subject to a yearly rent of 1*l.* to the Crown. When sold again in 1683, it comprised four several dwellings, but in 1703 there were only three tenants. In 1781, it is described as " that dwelling house called or known by the name of ' the High House, ' lately converted into a malthouse, with a kiln thereon for drying malt. " By 1834, the maltster has disappeared and a joiner had taken his place. The building now comprises two dwellings not used for trade. As late as 1804, it is described in a conveyance by its ancient and appropriate name of ' the High House, ' but in 1769, and perhaps earlier, it was commonly known as ' the old Nunnery. ' This misnomer is thoroughly characteristic of the eighteenth century, when the wildest theories about history and antiquities found ready acceptance. There was never any establishment of religious women at Dunster ; no nunnery even owned a particle of land in the parish.

From the High House, Church Street proceeds past a garden formerly belonging to the Priory to the churchyard, at the south-eastern corner of which there is a picturesque timbered cottage of the sixteenth century, which also pertained to the monks. This is described in 1588 as "the stone-healled howse," a fact of which the late Mr. Street was unaware, when he covered the roof with tiles and rebuilt the chimneys in a style suggestive of Sussex rather than Somerset. [1]

In the southern wall of the churchyard there is a large arched recess of the middle ages, the original purpose of which has given rise to various conjectures. It was almost certainly a fountain, connected with ' le cundyte ' in New Street which is mentioned in the reign of Henry the Sixth. [2] In the seventeenth

[1] D.C.M. XIV. 26.

[2] D.C.M. XI. 3 ; XVIII. 3.

and eighteenth centuries, the 'bow' in the wall of the graveyard was let as a shop and yielded 1*s*. a year to the churchwardens. It is now empty. Close to it are some steps leading from the street to the south-western corner of the churchyard and described as a staircase (*scala*) in 1348.[1]

In front of the churchyard, the main road through Dunster turns sharply to the south-west, and assumes the name of West Street. It is mentioned by that name in the thirteenth century, and it has borne it ever since. The point at which it is intersected by a road on either side was known in the seventeenth century as Spear's Cross. In 1486, there is mention of "the cross opposite to the dwelling-house (*mansionem*) of William Sper," doubtless identical with "la crosse in la Westestrete" mentioned in 1413.[2] Here there is a Wesleyan Chapel of 1878, which does not harmonize with its picturesque surroundings.

The road on the left was formerly one of the principal streets of Dunster, containing houses belonging to different freeholders. From its position immediately under the stronghold of the Mohuns and the Luttrells it was called, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, 'Castelbayly,' 'le Castellebale,' 'le Baley Strete,' or simply 'le Baleye.' One branch of it turned northward into Market Street, another southward up the hill to the gate of the Castle. Eastward it led to St. Benet's Well, to the Hanger Park, and to the Barton, or home-farm, of the medieval lords of Dunster.[3] In course of time, the Luttrells bought out all the smaller proprietors in the street, and put their own dependents into such houses as they did not demolish. This process was completed by 1791,

[1] D.C.B. no. 11.
[2] D.C.M. XI. 2; XIII. 1.
[3] D.C.B. no. 66.

A COTTAGE DOORWAY.

ST. GEORGE'S STREET.

DUNSTER.

when the road is described as 'Castle Street.' The older name of 'Castle Bailey' was in use as late as 1769. The road has no name at present and it has long since ceased to be a public thoroughfare. Here are the dairy, the stables, the coach-house, and the farm-yard pertaining to the Castle above.

From the western end of the Castle Bailey there is an ancient and hilly road to Alcombe and Minehead, the first section of which, in the town of Dunster, is known as 'St. George's Street,' because it skirts the grave-yard of the church dedicated to that Saint. It is mentioned by that name in 1311. Opposite to the churchyard are the schools, erected in 1871, from designs by Mr. St. Aubyn, at the cost of the Revd. Thomas Fownes Luttrell, and now let to the Somerset County Council. Behind them is the cemetery enclosed in 1880, and behind that again are some allotments. On the right of St. George's Street was the former Priory Green, and further up is Rockhead.[1] According to local tradition, the shaft of a medieval cross, raised on several steps, at Rockhead, was removed thither, in 1825, from the junction of High Street and Church Street. It is accordingly marked in the Ordnance Survey as the 'Butter Cross.' While the tradition may be true enough with regard to the existing remains, or part of them, a number of workmen were employed by Henry Fownes Luttrell in 1776, in "levelling the ground round the cross at Rockhead and gravelling the road towards Conigar."

Conduit Lane on the left of St. George's Street leads steeply up the northern slope of Grabbist, past a little medieval building that encloses the spring known as St. Leonard's Well. This is mentioned, in 1375

[1] D C.B. no. 20.

as being 'under Grobbefast."[1] The Benedictine Prior of Dunster was formerly responsible for the maintenance of the lane.[2] Pipes have been found in the ground leading from it to the Priory, and thence through the churchyard to the conduit in New Street mentioned above.

The houses in West Street are for the most part later in date than those in High Street. Taverns and other buildings with distinctive signs were always less numerous there. A little above the street on the north stands the Cottage Hospital, established in 1867 for the reception of nine patients.

On the south of West Street a road skirting the base of the Tor diverges towards the old grist-mills mentioned in the previous chapter. Here the Wesleyans placed a small school in 1825, which was rebuilt thirty years later. It is no longer used for its original purpose. Three small houses close to it, near the corner of West Street, were between 1696 and 1699, let to the overseers of the parish, to serve as a workhouse. Several members of the Luttrell family made bequests to the poor of Dunster, and the accumulated capital remained for generations in the hands of successive owners of the Castle, who paid interest on it at varying rates. Curiously enough it came to be known as 'the Luttrell and Eld Charity,' Eld having been merely the Master in Chancery who regulated the affairs of Margaret Luttrell the heiress. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the little workhouse was supposed to accommodate upwards of thirty persons, besides the housekeeper. The cost of maintaining the inmates was at that time 1*s.* 6*d.* apiece by the week, besides their clothes. Heather and turf for fuel came from the neighbouring hills.

[1] D.C.B. no 39.

[2] D.C.M. XI. 1.

GALLOCKSBRIDGE,
DUNSTER.

Some receipts came from the sale of yarn made by the paupers. The workhouse seems to have been closed in 1836.[1]

A second street diverging to the left of West Street was formerly one of the main approaches to the town of Dunster. It is described as 'la Waterstret' in 1323, and as 'Gallokystret' in 1342, and it long continued to bear these names indifferently. Neither name was more authoritative than the other. Both of them, especially the latter, occur frequently in conveyances, court-rolls and other legal documents. As late as the year 1800, there is a mention of 'Gallox Street otherwise called Water Street,' but by that time the name of Water Street had, in common parlance, become restricted to the northern part of the thoroughfare and that of Gallocks Street to the southern part beyond the river.[2] A footpath, no longer public, connecting this street with the road to the grist-mills was known, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as 'Colyerslane,' or simply 'le Lane.'[3]

Carts going down Water Street can cross the water formerly known as 'le Oldstreme' at a ford, by the side of which there is a picturesque medieval bridge of two arches. In the middle of the fourteenth century, this was known as 'Doddebrigge,' but by the time of Henry the Seventh it had acquired the name of 'Gallockisbrigge,' which it has since retained.[4]

A little beyond the bridge, close to the present Park gate, and in the parish of Carhampton, was Gallocks Cross, where four roads met.[5] That which led westward to Frackford, on the way to Avill, is described, in 1756, as 'Galloxwell Lane.' The spring

[1] D.C.B; Overseers' accounts.
[2] Rate-book, 1774.
[3] D.C.M. VIII. 2; X. 1.
[4] D.C.M. VIII. 2; XV. 3, 39.
[5] D.C.M. XV. 6, 28.

from which it took its name is mentioned in the reign of Henry the Seventh.[1] In 1708, Alexander Luttrell demised to Caleb Spurrier, glazier, two other springs near it, with a view to his laying leaden pipes therefrom to cisterns at the High Cross and the Corner House in Dunster, and supplying seven hogsheads of water weekly to the Priory. One of these springs was called Heart's Well.

From Gallocks Cross a public road, dating from the time of the Roman occupation of Britain, formerly led upwards in a south-easterly direction, near Holway House, the exact situation of which is now forgotten, to the village of Carhampton. Since the creation of the Deer Park, this has become a mere footpath. A third road from Gallocks Cross went north-eastwards by Avelham Corner, Henstey, Skibbercliff, and Giltchapel close to the junction of Saltern Lane with the present main road from Carhampton to Minehead. The Prior of Dunster was responsible for the repair of this road.[2]

Gallockstreet, Gallocksbridge, Gallockscross, Gallockswell, Gallocksclose, Gallocksdown, and Gallockswood, alike take their names from the gallows pertaining to the early lords of Dunster. Close to Gallockscross is one of the entrances into the present deer-park.

The area and the very situation of Dunster Park have altered considerably in the course of centuries, and some points connected with its history are obscure. There can be no doubt, however, that it was always of less account than Marshwood in the parish of Carhampton, so long as the latter was maintained as a park. It is described in 1279 as the "small park," and in 1330 as the "Hanger," a name which it bore

[1] D.C.M. xv. 5.

[2] D.C.M. VIII, 2; XVIII, 6.

until 1752 and possibly later.[1] Numerous documents show that the Hanger Park was close to the back-yards or gardens of the houses on the eastern side of the High Street, separated from them by a wooden paling, afterwards replaced by a stone wall. One acre of it was occupied by a fishpond.[2]

In 1355, Sir John de Mohun lodged a complaint at Westminster that Philip of Luccombe, William Everard, John Everard, Robert Everard, Hugh of Durborough, Hugh of Crowdon, Thomas Denays parson of Selworthy, Simon Waleys, and Robert late parker of Minehead had carried away deer and young sparrow-hawks from his parks at Dunster, Minehead, and Marshwood, and hares, coneys, partridges and pheasants from his free warrens at Carhampton and Rodhuish, and assaulted Richard le Scolemaister, his collector of the toll of Dunster Fair.[3]

Eleven years later, when he seems to have been in want of money, he demised to William Coule of Dunster his closes called 'le Hangre' and 'Nyweperk' in Carhampton for four years at the nominal rent of a rose, in consideration, doubtless, of value received.[4]

During Lady de Mohun's long widowhood and absence from Somerset, the park, the vineyard, the orchard, and a garden called 'Puryhay' in the park were alike let. Sir Hugh Luttrell coming to live at Dunster, took these different pieces of ground into his own hands, together with the fishery in the little river.[5] At his death in 1428, it was found that the Hanger Park contained a hundred acres of pasture and wood, worth 20*s.* a year beyond the feed of the deer therein. Marshwood Park, comprising two

[1] Inq. post mortem, C. Edw. I. file 22 (1); Edw. III. file 22 (11).
[2] Mohun Cartulary. See p. 358.
[3] Patent Roll, 29 Edw. III. part 1, m. 24*d.*
[4] D.C.M. XVII. 1.
[5] D.C.M. X. 1; XI, 1, 3; XVII. 4; XVIII. 2.

hundred and seventy acres was valued at double that amount. Minehead Park comprised a hundred and fifty acres.[1]

Sir John Luttrell, son of Sir Hugh, granted the office of parker of the Hanger to a certain Benedict Tolose for life, with a yearly allowance of 40*s.* out of the issues of the borough of Dunster, and granted the office of parker of Marshwood to a certain John Blaunche upon exactly similar terms.[2] It was the parker of the Hanger who used to kill coneys at the warren, for consumption at the Castle, and for presentation to the friends of the lord or lady.[3]

At different dates there are mentions of the park pale by Loxhole Bridge, the park-pale below Henstey, and the pale between the park and Great Avelham. Hence it appears that the medieval park of Dunster comprised the sloping ground between the town and the river, and the northern part of the level ground beyond the river now known as 'the Lawn.' Although Great Avelham on the south was afterwards added to it, the total area in the middle of the sixteenth century was only seventy-two acres. By that time Marshwood Park had also been reduced to a hundred acres, and Minehead Park had become agricultural land.[4] On the other hand the Luttrells' park at East Quantockshead had increased in importance.

In 1651, 'Dunster Parke alias Dunster Hanger' was valued at 120*l.* a year.[5] No record has been found of the date at which it was converted into pasture and meadow, but it is tolerably certain that there were not any deer there in the first half of the eighteenth century. A survey of the year 1746 shows that 'the Higher Park,' reckoned as part of the demesne

[1] Inq. post mortem, 6 Hen. VI. no. 32.
[2] Inq. post mortem, 9 Hen. VI. no. 51.
[3] D.C.M. XI. 3; XVIII. 3.
[4] See above page 160.
[5] D.C.M. III. 12.

of Dunster, was let to a certain John Hurford, and that 'the two Lawns,' reckoned as part of the demesne of Carhampton, had recently been rented by a certain John Herne. There is at Dunster Castle a portrait of a man holding a fish, which is described in an inventory of 1781, as a "picture of Old Herring." Tradition had, however, misinterpreted the pun intended by the painter. An inventory of 1744 calls it a "picture of Farmer Herne of Carhampton, drawn by Mr. Laroon to the life."[1] The allusion is to the fondness of a heron for fish.

In 1755, Henry Fownes Luttrell and his wife determined "to bring the park home," or in other words to remove the deer from Marshwood to Dunster. This involved the creation of a new park, and an area was selected for it which did not include any part of the medieval park, but lay entirely to the south of it on higher ground. Various plots of freehold land had to be bought from their respective owners; leases had to be extinguished, with compensation to the tenants; hedges had to be abolished; and a continuous fence had to be made to enclose the whole. Altogether the new park comprised three hundred and forty-eight acres, many of which, covered with fern, whorts, and heather, had never been brought into cultivation. They are all situated in the parish of Carhampton. There is a detailed memorandum about the construction of a wooden fence along certain portions of the boundary not otherwise safeguarded :—

"That part of the designed park that is to be paled is 6390 feet long and will take as under :—

"710 posts $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, to be set $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet into the ground, 9 feet distance from the middle of one post to the middle of

[1] Master Eld's Report in the suit Kymer v. Trevelyan, 1744.

the other, the top of the upper mortice to be one foot under the top of the post, and the lower part of the under mortice to be four feet under the top of the post.

"1420 rails, 9½ feet long, the ends to be drove into the mortice, one over the other, with the heart upwards.

4260 pales, 6 feet long ;
7100 ditto, 5½ feet long.

Set the sapey edge of one pale close to the harty edge of the next, nail a long pale on each side every post and then two short ones to one long one. Drive no more than two nails to one pale. 22720 nails will naile on the pales if none be lost."

The transfer of the deer from Marshwood to Dunster Park seems to have been effected in 1756 or the following year. A direct route having been prepared by cutting openings through intervening fences, a great part of the population of the neighbourhood turned out to drive the deer to pastures new and prevent them from straying to the right or the left on the way thither.

Many of the trees in the existing park were planted by Henry Fownes Luttrell, who had considerable taste in such matters. Some of the oaks, however, in the upper part of it are of very great antiquity, possibly relics of the forest of Dunster mentioned in the reign of Henry the Third.

Among the various memoranda made by George Luttrell in the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First, the following are of some topographical interest :—

"The perambulacon of processyon in the weke caulyd Processyon weke, or Gayn weeke, or Rogacon weke, of the parysh of Dunster.

"The Monday in the Rogacon weke, the parysh going [toward] Alcombe a gospell sayd by Skilaker by the west part of the waye that lieth at the south part of Deneclose where somtyeme was a crosse, and from thence to Alcombe

A COTTAGE DOORWAY,
WATER STREET.
DUNSTER.

Crosse and there was accostomyd to be sayd a gospell, and from thence to the Chapell of Alcombe and theare a gospell, and from thence backwarde downe by the water to Yllycombe to Pyne's howse and theare a gospell, and thear the parysh were accostomed to have a drynkyng, and from thence to Dene Lane, and so to Dunster Church.

"The Tewysdaye, upp St. George Strete and through Dene Lane and thear torne west by the Pekyd or Threcorner close along in the Marsh, and so over the Fresse to Dunster Hawn, and so from thence over the felde to go to Salterne Lane, and so by Gyltchapell alonge by the parck [pale] under Henstye to a crosse by thollow elme, and from thence leving Holwaye Howse and grounde which W. Hart now holdyth uppon the left hande, and so to Gallockes Crosse, and theare a gospell, and from thence over the stone brydge through Gallockes Strete and over the tymber brydge, and so home.

"The Wennysdaye, from the church through Westrete over the sayd brydges through Gallockes Strete and by Jone Fynnes dore west in the way to Fayer Oke, and from thence to Avell and thear was accostomyd to be sayd servys in the chapell of Mary Maddaleyne and thear was a drynkyng for the parysh at Avell Howse, and then from thence the sayd parysh went over the water to Hurlepole path and so to the crosse that stoode by est [of Fra]ckford Howse, whear the bowndes of the burugh of Dunster begann, [and so] home."

"The perambulacon of the processyon of the parysh of Carhampton in the Rogacon weke as followith :—

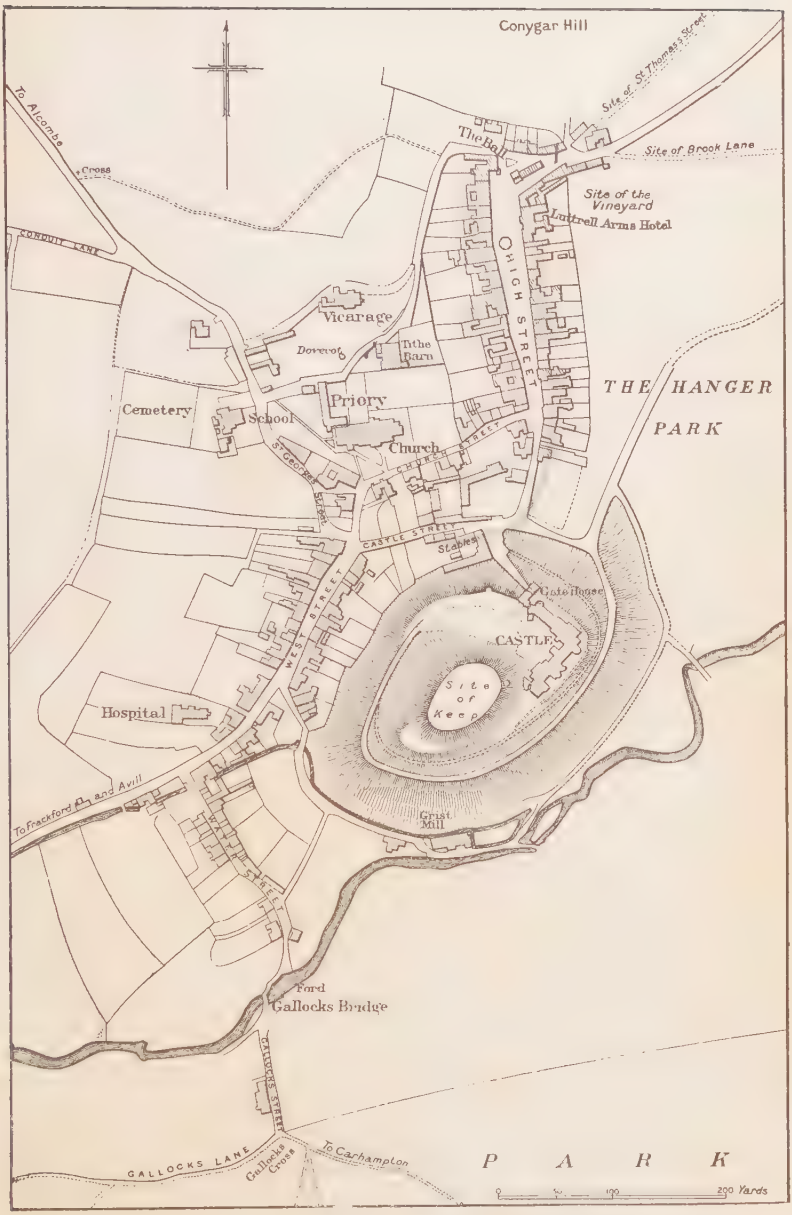
"The Monday, from the parysh church to the crosse in the strete which stode uppon the strete and from that southwarde to a howse or tenement nowe in tholdyng of Lawrence Escott thear and from thence west along by Jeles Dyes howse to Aller styele where was wont to be a crosse and thear sayd a gospell, and from thence to Colstones Crosse whear was sayd another gospell, and from thence to Holwaye Howse now W. Harte's, and so to Holwaye [Hollow] elme at Henstye fote and from thence to Henstye hedd and thear another gospell, and so home.

"The Tewysdaie, from the church to the wester [thester] church styele and from thence by Henry Lee's towards

Webber's and so towards Brethren Crosse and thear a gospell, and so upp by Hadley's howse and so towardes the parsonage of Wythicomb by Sanhill grounde to Laurence Escotte's and thear wont to be sayd a gospell, and thear was wont to be som refresshing for the pryst, and from thence to Rodehuysh by Chestershowse the wydo Doddrydg and to Georg Escotte's and thear a gospell sayde and thear they dranck, and so to St. Barthemewe's Chapell whear they sayd a gospell, and from thence to Harry Dowlle's howes whear they sayd a gospell, and dranck, and from thence to Poppers [Pyppers] Crosse where also was sayd a gospell, and from thence to Okehowse whear was sayd a gospell and drank, and so to Harpers and a gospell and thear they drank, and from thence they goo to a crosse that goyth to Lokesborowgh and thear was sayd a gospell, and from thence to Everarde's howse whear was wont to be sayd a gospell, but now they goo without hys wawles homeward by Lawrence Escotte's, Rogers howse and so to the Hundred Elme wher the Sherow turne is kept, and from thence to the churche agayne.

"The Wennysdaye, westward along the towne to Dunsterward and at the fotewaye entry going to Hensty thear was wont to be a crosse caulyd Emmys Crosse alias Lanhey Crosse, and thear was sayd a gospell, and from thence by Gyltchapell to the lorde's feelde gate and so along the waye in the north part of the parck to Broklanefote over the brydge thear and so along by Chapman's howse and the wydow Hobbes [Holes] and so over Marsshbrydge to Poynz' howse, and thear was sayd a gospell and was some refresshing, and from thence to Marchwaye estward along by all the Chesell and so to Marshwood and thear sayd a gospell and wear also wont to be refresshed, and from thence towards Shilves and to a crosse that was wont to stande by est the styele that goyth into Rogers grounde caulyd South C[arhamp]ton, and so home alonge the depe waye to the churche."[1]

[1] D.C.M. v. 55. The words given above within brackets are taken from a shorter version also, in the execrable hand of George Luttrell.



MAP OF THE TOWN OF DUNSTER.

CHAPTER XI.

Dunster Castle.

Domesday Book mentions only two castles in the whole county of Somerset, that of the powerful Count of Mortain at Montacute, and that of William de Mohun at Dunster. Both were presumably strongly fortified according to the system in vogue at the time of the Norman Conquest. Much learning and ingenuity have been expended in the endeavour to fix the relative dates of the great mounds which characterize so many English castles of early origin and the massive stone structures that were erected upon them. This interesting question has, however, very little direct bearing upon the history of Dunster. On the one hand, it is practically certain that the stronghold of the first William de Mohun crowned the Tor, a conical hill, whose summit, artificially levelled, measures about thirty-five yards east and west by about seventy north and south. On the other hand, it is almost as certain that Dunster Castle never had one great tower, quadrangular like that of Rochester, or circular like that of Arundel. The defences were mainly natural, the bare slopes of the hill being very steep on all sides and almost precipitous in places. In order, however to make the place more secure against possible enemies, the upper part of the Tor was, where necessary, scarped to a depth of about

eighty feet. Whatever may have been the material employed in building the original castle on the summit, there was, neither in the eleventh century nor in the later middle ages, any need of the very massive construction used in castles more easy of attack. Such few notices of the keep as have been found tend to show that it comprised several buildings connected by walls of moderate height.

If the account of Dunster Castle given by the author of *Gesta Stephani* may be taken as correct, the fabric subsisting in 1138 had been created by the second William de Mohun, and this is not at all unlikely, in view of the undoubted fact that many Norman castles of the previous century had been made of wood. The walls and towers mentioned by the chronicler must certainly have been built of stone. His description, moreover, suggests that there was a lower ward, which, indeed, would have been necessary for the accommodation of the great number of men and horses collected for warlike purposes by the then lord of Dunster.[1] No traces of distinctively Norman work now remain at the Castle, and although it seems likely that the earliest masonry is to be found at the north-eastern angle, where the walls are exceedingly thick, no definite date can be assigned to it.

It was perhaps the second William de Mohun, Earl of Somerset, who, in granting out various manors to be held of him and his heirs on the ordinary terms of feudal service, added a stipulation that the respective tenants should, when required, assist in repairing the walls of Dunster Castle. Reynold de Mohun the Second, who lived in the reign of Henry the Third, is specifically stated by the chronicler and eulogist of the family, more than a century later, to have allowed

[1] See page 6 above.

GATEWAY OF THE LOWER WARD.
DUNSTER CASTLE.

his tenants to compound for this service once for all by a pecuniary fine, and to have applied the money so received to new buildings in the Lower Ward.[1] Untrustworthy as this writer is often found, his note on this particular subject proves to be correct. While Reynold de Mohun is otherwise known to have released three different military tenants from their obligation to repair the walls of his stronghold, architectural evidence points to the middle of the thirteenth century as the period at which some existing parts of the Castle were built. To Reynold de Mohun we may safely ascribe the old gateway of the Lower Ward, which has plain chamfered jambs, and a low stiff drop-arch. It shows no traces of any former portcullis, and it can never have had a drawbridge. On either side is a semicircular mural tower, containing on the ground floor a vaulted chamber with the usual three loops for cross-bowmen. The upper portions of both these towers have been long since demolished.

About sixty-six feet to the west of the tower on the right, and connected with it by the old curtain wall, there are remains of a small semicircular tower, the bottom of which was approximately level with the first floor of the gateway, by reason of the slope of the ground. How much further the curtain wall formerly extended westward it is now impossible to say.

There was certainly one other tower beyond, long known as ' Dame Hawis's Tower, ' and clearly identical with the ' Fleming Tower, ' to be mentioned

[1] "*Qui quidem Reginaldus fecit inferiorem castrum de Dunster, et pluribus tenentibus suis qui tenuerunt per feodum militare et solebant kernellitare in superiori castro, affirmare et facere cum necesse fuerat, remisit concessionem ad affirmandum castrum, ut dictum est, et hoc fecit pro inferiori castro faciendo.*"
St. George's extracts from the Mohun Chronicle.

below. Reynold de Mohun had married, as his first wife, an heiress in Devonshire named Hawis le Fleming, and this tower, which was a building of some importance, may have been built with her money. It probably stood at the western end of the Lower Ward, overlooking the vale of Avill, not far from the point at which the wall began to turn southwards and upwards in order to join the older wall of the Upper Ward.

The range of buildings erected by Reynold de Mohun for his own occupation was at the opposite end of the Lower Ward, on the left of the gateway. Although placed by him on the edge of a precipice almost overhanging the river, he saw fit to fortify its southern front with two towers projecting from a lofty wall, which varies in thickness from 4 ft. 8 in. to 6 ft. Two small pointed windows of his time, belonging to a closet, still remain. While the western end of this pile was partially excavated out of the native rock, there was at the eastern end a basement on a lower level, the ground sloping steeply in that direction. Amid all the changes that the fabric of Dunster Castle has undergone in the Jacobean, the Georgian, and the Victorian periods, the walls of Reynold de Mohun can still be distinguished by their great thickness.

In the agreement made between Reynold de Mohun and the Benedictine monks, in 1254, with regard to the massess to be said for the soul of his son John, a sharp distinction is drawn between the 'upper' chapel of St. Stephen in Dunster Castle and the 'lower' chapel of St. Lawrence in the Priory. The former is known to have stood on the summit of the Tor, within the original castle, while the latter was an adjunct to the parochial church.

An 'extent' of Dunster of the year 1266 gives a clear though very brief description of the Castle. It states that the Upper Ward comprised a hall with a buttery, a pantry, a kitchen and a bakehouse to the south of it, a fair chapel, a knights' hall, three towers containing various rooms, and a prison. The hall is described as having two 'posts,' two 'couples' and two 'pignons' or pinnacles. The Lower Ward comprised three towers, of which that known as 'the Fleming Tower' was a prison, and also a granary. The gateway must evidently have been reckoned as one 'tower' and the irregular pile at the end of the Lower Ward must have been reckoned as another. The cow-house and the stable, with accommodation for a hundred beasts, the dovecot, and the dairy lay outside the Castle, far below, near the river.[1]

In 1284, when the heir of Dunster was under age, an enquiry was held by royal authority as to the repairs recently made to the Castle by John de Vescy, and the repairs that were still necessary. The report gives the names of various buildings, but conveys very little information as to their relative situations. Thus we read of "the oriel over the gate .... the bakehouse over the oven .... a garderobe near the bakehouse .... the tower near the said bakehouse .. .. another tower called the Fleming Tower .... the tower near the gate .... the new tower over the great chamber .... the children's chamber .... the great hall, the saucery (*salsaria*), the kitchen and a certain chamber between the same .... the chapel .... a certain knights' chamber and armoury (*quadam camera militum et domo ad arma*) .... the lord's chamber .. .. the oriel of the same chamber .... the bell-turret (*campanario*) .... the great knights' chamber (*magna*

[1] Mohun Cartulary.

camera militum)" and various embattled turrets. While the towers and certain buildings were roofed with lead, the hall and others were to be covered with wooden shingles (*cindulis*).[1]

There are no documentary allusions to the fabric of Dunster Castle in the fourteenth century. One of the later Mohuns seems, however, to have lengthened the principal building of the Lower Ward by adding a tower and some rooms at the western end of it, on a narrow strip of ground close under the eastern end of the Upper Ward.

The accounts of the first Sir Hugh Luttrell contain many references to his castle. The following occur in 1406 :—

"In a key bought for the door of the tower over the gate, 2*d.* In hinges *(jemeux)*, 'staples, haspes,' and a 'bolte' of iron for the deal *(sappis)* placed in the gate, 12*d.* In a lock *(cera)*, a key, a 'haspe' and a staple *(stapulo)*, bought for the tower towards the west in 'le Dongeon' 8*d.* In a lock and a key bought for the door of the closet (*latrine*) at the end of the hall, 6*d.*"

"In paid for two bushels of lime *(calcis)* bought, 2*d.* In a hundred 'lathnailles' bought, 4*d.* In a workman covering the slope *(penticium)* of the tower over the angle of the 'Dongeon' towards the west, for two days, 4*d.* In a carpenter making the said slope for three days, 6*d.*"

"For three 'bordes' of 'pipler' bought for the garderobe of my lord, 2*s.*"

"In paid to two 'masones' working on the chapel in 'le Dongeon' for nine days and a half, at 2*d.* apiece by the day, 3*s.* 2*d.* In paid to three workmen carrying earth for the same, at 3*d.* apiece by the day, for one day, 9*d.* In paid for two quarters of lime bought at Wachet, together with 2*d.* for the carriage of the same, 18*d.* Also, on the same day, in paid to a carpenter for fourteen days and two

[1] Miscellanea (Chancery), Bundle 3, No. 21 (5-7).

The *camera militum* seems to be the *salle des chevaliers* of French castles, and the *ritter saal* of German castles

carpenters for two days, at 2*d.* apiece by the day, working 'cippes, bordes, tresteles,' and windows and doors in the upper and the lower castle. Also on the same day, in two hundred nails *(clavis)* at 4*d.*; in a hundred and fifty nails at 6*d.*; in a hundred nails at 6*d.*, 16*d.* In twenty-two pounds of iron wrought in 'twystes, hokes,' and other necessaries, at 1½*d.* the pound, 2*s.* 9*d.*"

"In a new lock with two keys, and the mending of the locks of the doors of the pantry, the kitchen, and the oats'-house *(avenar')*, 10*d.* Also the same day, in paid for cleansing the house within the gates, full of filth, 4*d.*"

"In paid to John Corbet, smith, for a 'wexpan,' two 'wexirens,' a 'wexknyfe,' an 'iren rake,' a 'pikeys,' a 'matok,' thirty-six 'hoques' for hanging bacons in the kitchen, two 'twistez' for the door in the tower over the angle of the 'Dongeon,' and little bars for the glass windows in the hall, 6*s.* 8*d.* Also on the same day, in paid to a glazier making glass windows in the hall and my lord's chambers, at 2*d.* by the day, for twenty-one days, 3*s.* 6*d.* Also on the same day, in paid for two 'hoques' and two hinges *(jemeux)* for the shutters *(foliis)* of the glass windows at the end of the hall, 2*d.* Also on the same day, in paid to two carpenters fashioning chests by order of my lady and also 'lez rakkes' in the gate, for six days, at 2*d.* apiece by the day, 2*s.* And in two hundred nails for the same chests, 1*s.* In three hinges for the same, 4*d.* In two hooks *(hamis)* and three great nails for the said 'rekkis,' 2*d.* In a new padlock *(cera pendenti)* and the mending of another, 4*d.* Also on the same day, in paid for the making of an earthen wall below *(infra)* the tower over the gate, 2*d.* And for the making of a door with a 'lacche' in the same, 3*d.*"

The following payments were made in 1416:—

"In four thousand pounds of lead, at 5*s.* 6*d.* by the hundred, 11*l.* In the carriage of the said lead from Wellys to Dunster, 8*s.* In expenses for buying the said lead, 2*s.*"

"In 'bordes' and 'nailles' bought for the covering of the towers in the Castle, 23*d.* In nine pounds and a half of solder *(soldura)* bought, 14½*d.* In the salary of a plumber for four weeks, 10*s.*"

In addition to this salary the plumber received 14*d.* a week for food, and presumably free lodging in the Castle.

The accounts for 1417 show the following payments :—

"To a carpenter on the repair of the gates of the Lower Castle, for seven days at 3*d.* by the day, 21*d.* Also in iron work for the same gates, viz. eighty-seven pounds at 1¼*d.* by the pound, in nails, plates, and bands *(vinculis)*, 9*s.* ¾*d.* Also in little nails *(clavis)* bought, with a key *(clavi)* for the door of the chamber of J. Bacwell, 4*d.* Also in a key for the chamber of the garderobe and in a key for the door of the barn in the barton of Dounsterr, 4*d.*"

"In four hooks for the door of the chapel in the hall 2*d.* Also in the repair of two iron bands *(vinculorum)* with the nails necessary for the same for the principal gate in 'le Dongeon,' 4*d.* Also in the cutting of a wicket *(valve)* in the same gate, 3*d.* Also in iron hinges *(geminis)* for the same wicket with the nails necessary, 4*d.* Also in a 'hagodeday' with a 'lacche' for the same wicket, 3*d.* Also in a mason *(muratore)* making a chimney *(caminum)* in the porter's lodge *(domo janitoris)* for five and a half days, 11*d.* Also in the carriage of a stone for the key-stone *(clavi)* of the said chimney given by the Prior of Dunsterre, 1*d.* Also in the repair of two locks on the chamber of the outer gate of the Castle, with a key for the bakehouse, 5½*d.* Also in plates [and] nails with a knocker *(martella)* on the inner gate of the Castle, weighing 104*lb.* at 1¼*d.* by the *lb.* 10*s.* 10*d.* Also in the expenses of a 'mason' coming from Brigewater to see my lord's hall in the Castle which is to be rebuilt, 3*s.* 8*d.*"

The gates of the Lower Castle mentioned above may perhaps be those which still hang under the archway of Reynold de Mohun. Their framework is a massive grating of oaken bars four inches thick, four inches and a half wide, and four inches and a half apart, covered on the outside with vertical bands of the same material an inch and a half thick. These

planks are held together by external iron bands, spiked to the internal bars of oak by great nails with diamond-shaped heads. In the right valve there is a wicket four feet four inches high by two feet one inch broad, fastened with a huge iron lock in a wooden shell.

The accounts for 1418 show the following charges :—

"In a tiler *(coopertore)* for two day's at my lord's board *(mensam)* for the bakehouse, 4*d.* In a mason *(lathamo)* for five days at my lord's board for certain chambers to be mended in the Castle, 10*d.* In a lock of the outer gate of the Castle repaired, 3*d.*"

In 1421, there was a payment "to Thomas Pacchehole for making 'reckis' and 'mangers' in my lord's stable," which was apparently below the Castle on the north side.

The following payments are recorded in 1426 :—

"For 'twystys,' 'yemeaux,' and nails bought of Hugh Lokyer for the screen *(le spere)* and a new door in my lord's hall, 3*s.* 10*d.* And to John Burgh for two carriages of timber from 'le lymekyll' to the Castle for the said screen *(le dit spere)* in my lord's hall, 2*d.*... In a thousand tile-pins *(pynnys tegulinis)* bought, 3*d.*... In two thousand tile-stones *(petris tegulinis)* bought of Henry Helyer, 20*d.* In the carriage of the said stones from Treburgh to Dunster Castle, 3*s.* 4*d.*... In paid to John Eylysworthi, tiler *(tegulatori)* there hired to repair my lord's chamber and the constable's chamber, for three days at my lord's board *(repastum)*, 9*d.*... In a great key bought of Hugh Lokyer and in the mending of a lock for 'Damhawys Towre', 4*d.*..... In John Bowman hired for a day to cleanse 'Damhawys Toure,' at my lord's board *(sibum)*, 2*d.*..... Also to Thomas Pacheholl with his man *(famulo)* there hired for a day and a half to make three 'gestys' anew in the keep *(castello)* by 'le Portcoleys,' at my lord's board, 7½*d.* In nails bought for mending 'le store hous' in the keep *(castello)* in which my lord's armour is placed, 1*d.*..... In two carriages of timber from 'le

Fysspole in le Hanger,' towards my lord's said stable, without board, 2*d*..... In ten thousand tile-stones *(petris tegulinis)* bought for my lord's store, that came from Cornwall to the Haven *(portum)* of Dunsterre, at 2*s*. 7*d*. by the thousand, sum total, 25*s*. 10*d*. In carrying the aforesaid stones *(lapidibus)* from the ship to 'le slymvat,' 4*d*."

The following entries occur in 1427 :—

"Thomas [Pachehole] was hired there to make 'le enterclos' and 'hachys' between my lord's hall and the chapel there, for two weeks at my lord's board, receiving 18*d*. by the week, 3*s*..... In paid to Thomas Smyth for six pairs of hinges *(yemeaux)* for 'lez hacchys' in the chapel there, 2*s*..... Also paid to John Myryman of Wylyton for two mantelpieces *(lapydibus clavell')* bought of him for two chimneys to be newly made in the keep *(castello)*, 3*s*..... Thomas Pacheholl was hired by order of Thomas Bemont at the keep *(castellum)* for pulling down the old kitchen in 'le Donyon' for a week at my lord's board, 18*d*..... And Thomas Pachehole was hired there to make a 'whelberwe,' for a day at my lord's board, 3*d*."

Sir Hugh Luttrell, not content with maintaining the old castle of the Mohuns, resolved to make a material addition to it, more for comfort than for defence. His receiver's account for 1420 has a separate section as follows :—

"The new building in my lord's castle. In divers workmen hired for pulling down old walls, both a part of the walls of the hall and a part of the wall of the Castle, and laying the foundation of the new building close to the said hall, and for removing to a distance the old timber of the hall when pulled down, and for hauling great stones and carrying the said stones, with sand and timber, together with the purchase of free stone at Bristol and the carriage of the same by sea and lastly by land, and the carriage of water, and for making 'hurdelles,' together with the purchase of ropes, cords, and divers other necessaries for the work, and likewise in the hire of men for burning lime in the pit near the Castle, with the making of the same pit, and coal and

fuel bought for the same, with the shoeing of my lord's horses and oxen for carriage, and making and repairing divers iron implements, to wit 'crowes, mattokkes, pycoyses, wegges, spades' and 'schovylles' and 'sleigges,' all reckoned together, as appears in a paper made thereupon and examined at the audit *(super compotum)*, 45*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.* In 2379*lb.* of iron bought and wrought, that is to say for hinges *(gumphis)*, 'kacchers' for 'lacchis' for doors and windows, and also for putting ironwork in the lights *(illuminaribus)* of the windows, 14*l.* 17*s.* 4½*d.* In 141 quarters, 4 bushels of lime bought, at 8*d.* for the quarter, 4*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* Also paid to Thomas Hydon, mason *(latamo)* for making walls, in part payment of a greater amount, 11*l.* Also paid to William Boulond, free-stone mason *(sementario liberarum petrarum)* beyond 100*s.* received by him last year from Thomas Hody, as appears in the account of the same Thomas Hody, in part payment of a greater amount, 20*l.* Also paid to Thomas Pacchehole, carpenter, beyond 60*s.* received last year from Thomas Hody, in part payment of a greater amount, 20*s.* in 13 quarters of coal bought wholesale for burning lime. Total, 98*l.* 2*s.* 10½*d.*"

There were further payments of the same nature in the four following years, and in 1424, Thomas Pacchole, the carpenter, was boarded at the Castle for nineteen weeks with an assistant or two, and Thomas Hydon the 'mason,' for eleven weeks, also with an assistant. Irrespectively of them, the total cost in the five years amounted to about 252*l.*[1]

Sir Hugh Luttrell's 'new building' was a Gatehouse, spanning the approach from the town and situated without the *enceinte* of the older castle. In order to erect it in the position selected, he had to pull down part of the curtain-wall and to close at least two of the loops in the semi-circular tower on the right of the gateway leading into the Lower Ward. The Gatehouse as built by him was divided

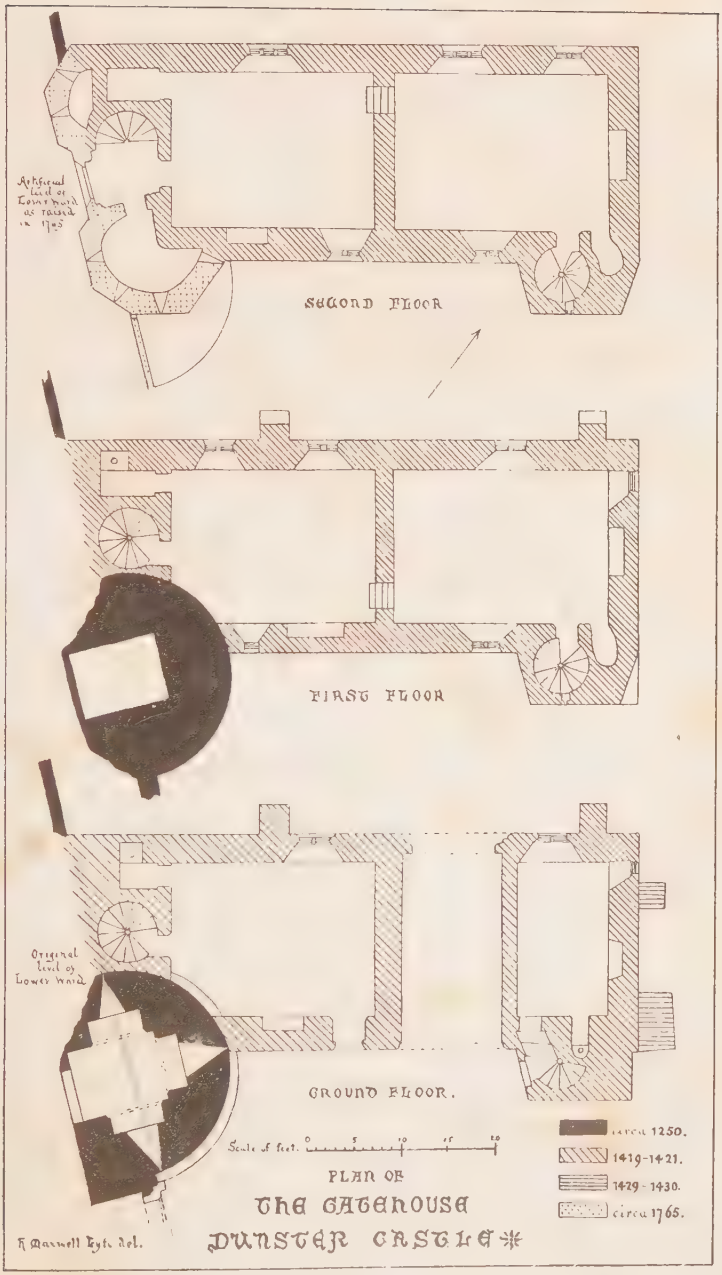
[1] D.C.M. I. 17.

into distinct sections by a transverse wall reaching from the ground to the roof, and it does not appear that there was any internal communication between them. The lower part of the eastern section is pierced by a passage open to the air, 10ft. 6in. broad, with a plain wagon vault and at each end a pointed arch. There can never have been a portcullis, but there was formerly a pair of large gates adjoining the outer, or lower, arch, which has moulded jambs continued round the head. Close to the inner, or southern, arch, there is a small pointed doorway giving access to a room and also to a spiral staircase leading to a larger room on the first floor, to a similar room on the second floor, and lastly to the roof. In the western section there were three rooms on as many floors, connected with each other and with older buildings behind by a spiral staircase. The two upper rooms in this section were rather lower down than those on the other side of the transverse wall. Each of the six rooms in the Gatehouse had a simple fireplace and a small, dark closet. Such of the original windows as remain are square-headed but cusped, and in some cases divided by mullions and transoms.

The accounts rendered to Sir John Luttrell contain a few references to the fabric of Dunster Castle. Thus in 1428 :—

"To John Eylesworthe, tiler *(tegulatori)*, hired for three and a half days to roof the chamber over the gate near my lord's stable, at my lord's board, receiving 3*d.* by the day, 10½*d.*..... Also in the wages of John Eylesworthe, tiler, hired to plaster *(sementanda)* the house by the outer gate of the Castle, in order that salt might be put therein, for a day and a half at my lord's board, receiving 3*d.* by the day, 4½*d.*"

The following charges occur in 1430 :—


Artificial level of Lower Ward as raised in 1765
SECOND FLOOR
FIRST FLOOR
Original level of Lower Ward
GROUND FLOOR.
Scale of feet. 0 5 10 15 20
circa 1250.
1419-1421.
1429-1430.
circa 1765.
PLAN OF
THE GATEHOUSE
DUNSTAR CASTLE
R. Garnell Lyte. del.

"To John Joce hired to gather stones on Croudon for 'les botreaux' by the gate of Dunsterre Castle, for one day at my lord's board, 2*d*..... To John Stone of Wotton, 'mason,' hired to make two 'botreaux' by the gate of the Castle, at my lord's board for two weeks, receiving 18*d*. by the week, 3*s*. And paid to John Thresshe of Wotton, 'mason,' hired to work with the said John Stone at the aforesaid 'botriaux' for two weeks, receiving 14*d*. by the week, 2*s*. 4*d*. And paid to John Joce, hired to wait upon John Stone and John Thresshe, the aforesaid 'masons,' for two weeks, receiving by the week 11*d*., at my lord's board, 22*d*. And paid to John Burgh, hired with his cart and four horses to carry stones from 'la Hangre' to the gate of the Castle for making the aforesaid 'botriaux' for one day at my lord's board, receiving 12*d*. by the day, 12*d*."

The two buttresses mentioned were presumably those which still help to support the eastern end of Sir Hugh Luttrell's gatehouse. After the death of Sir John Luttrell in 1430, a third of Dunster Castle was assigned to his relict as part of her dower. At an earlier and less peaceful period, military considerations would have prevented such a division of a fortified castle, while lawyers would have protested that no widow could claim dower in a place that was the nucleus of a feudal Honour. Lady Luttrell's third thereof is very minutely specified, as follows :—

"Two gates at the entrance of the same castle of Dunster, together with all buildings situate over the said two gates, together with a certain old kitchen immediately adjoining the said buildings, and also a certain tower nearest to the said two gates on the western side of the same, and a certain garden lying between the said tower and a certain other tower called 'Hayveystoure,' to hold to the same Margaret as a third part of the aforesaid castle of Dunster, saving, however, to the heir of the aforesaid John Luttrell, or to whosoever shall for the time have two parts of the aforesaid castle, free entry and egress to the said two parts of the castle whenever necessary or expedient.

Lady Luttrell also received for her life, as before:—

"Three acres of pasture and an acre of wood around 'le Castel Torre,' which three acres of pasture lie next on the western side of the entrance of the aforesaid castle of Dunster, and the aforesaid acre of wood lies on the eastern side of the same castle at the northern end of the wood there growing, with free entry and egress over 'le Castel Torre' aforesaid to the said acre of wood whensoever expedient to the same Margaret." [1]

Very little explanation is necessary. The two gates mentioned are clearly the gateway giving access to the Lower Ward, and the Gatehouse, or 'new building,' of Sir Hugh Luttrell, just below it. The kitchen was in the Lower Ward, near a hall previously mentioned, and the first tower mentioned was that of which some part still remains, projecting northward from the curtain wall. 'Hayveystoure' situate further to the west was the 'Dame Hawis's Tower,' or the 'Fleming Tower,' of earlier records. The pasture assigned to Lady Luttrell was more suitable for goats or sheep than for cattle, as it was on a steep, narrow strip of ground between the outer wall of the Castle and the back-yards of the townsmen living in West Street below. The outlying acre of wood must have been on the precipitous side of the Tor overhanging the river and difficult of access. Her four acres constituted a third of twelve acres known as 'Casteldichepasture,' a name which suggests that there was an artificial ditch round part of the Tor below the curtain wall. The moat of Dunster Castle is mentioned in 1318, and in 1381, a certain William Garland was admitted tenant for life of a burgage in 'la Baleye,' between the ditch and the king's highway, and consequently on the north side of it. [2]

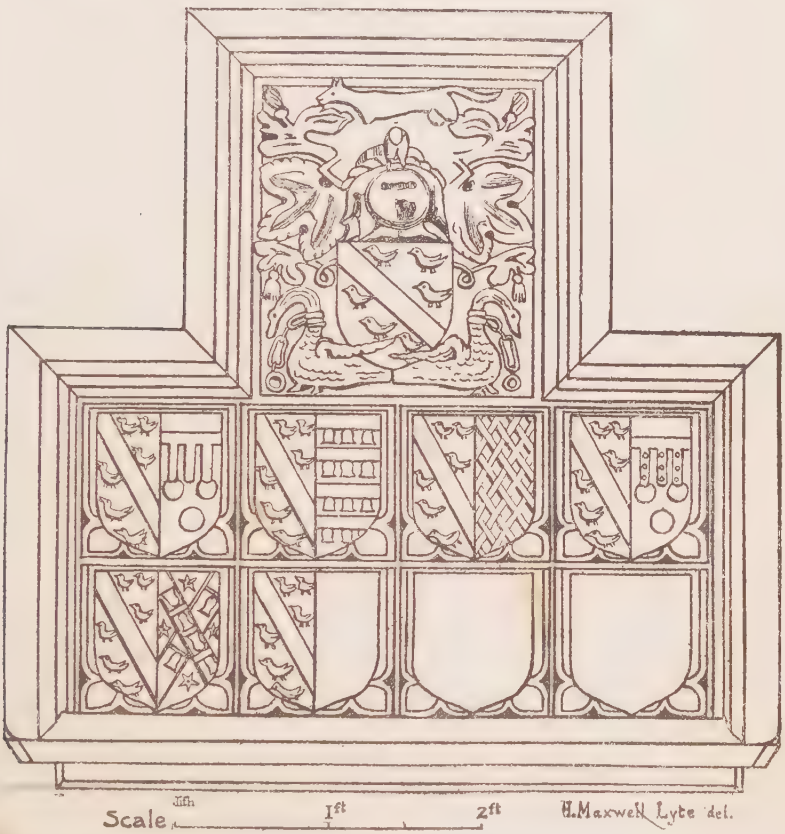
[1] Inq. post mortem. 9 Hen. VI. no. 51.

[2] Lease of a curtilage "de souz la mote du chaztel de Dunsterre en part de su e le ewe que court vers Daiynsbrigge en part de nortz," D.C.M. VIII. 2; IX. 5.

ANTONY RECEIVING CLEOPATRA.

THE GATEHOUSE,
DUNSTER CASTLE.
FROM BELOW.

Little or nothing is known about the condition of the Castle and its immediate surroundings for a considerable period after the death of Sir John Luttrell. It may, however, be taken for granted that the Her-



berts did not spend an unnecessary penny upon the the place during their temporary occupation of it.

After the restoration of the Luttrells in the reign of Henry the Seventh, Sir Hugh, the second of that name, and Sir Andrew, his son, are stated to have accomplished some work there. John Leland, who visited West Somerset in 1542, writes :—

"The Moions buildid the right goodly and stronge Castelle of Dunestorre.

"The Dungeon of the Castelle of Dunestorre hath beene fulle of goodly building; but now there is but only a chapelle in good case. Sir Hugh Luterelle did of late dayes repaire this chapelle.

"The fairest part of the Castelle welle maintenid is yn the north est of the court of it.

"Syr Hugh Luterelle in the tyme of Dame Margarete his wife, sister to the olde Lord Dalbeney, made a fair tourre by north cummying into the castelle."

"Syr Andrew Luterelle, sunne to Sir Hugh, buildid of new a pece of the castel waul by est."[1]

The writer thus ascribes to the second Sir Hugh the Gatehouse which had been erected by the first Sir Hugh, but his confusion of them is pardonable in view of the fact that the latest of the sculptured shields on a panel over the entrance of that gateway commemorates the marriage of the second Sir Hugh with the half-sister of Lord Daubeny.

In other respects his accuracy appears unquestionable. He implies that the chapel, which is known to have been dedicated to St. Stephen in 1254 or earlier, was the most important of several different buildings in the Dungeon, or Upper Ward, and we find that the summit of the Castle Tor was known as 'Mount Stephen's' in the seventeenth century and 'St. Stephen's' in the eighteenth. The piece of wall which Sir Andrew Luttrell is stated by Leland to have built cannot now be identified. Perhaps it connected the outer end of Sir Hugh Luttrell's gatehouse with the north-eastern angle of the inhabited castle, thus enclosing a triangular piece of ground outside the old *enceinte*.

The next reference to the fabric of Dunster Castle occurs in 1556, when, by an agreement between

[1] *Itinerary* (1907), p. 166.

W. Turner. A *S. Rawle 1806*

SOUTH WEST VIEW OF
DUNSTER CASTLE.

Thomas Luttrell and Robert Opy, the latter was allowed to retain for a short time "the hall, parlor, kichyn, and every rome within the same pyle called the Inner Pyle, or Lodginges, of the said Castell and the stables, the grist-mill of Dunster aforesaid, and the fedinge and pasturinge of tenne rother beasts or kyne and three geldings in the Hanger, or Park, of Dunster."[1]

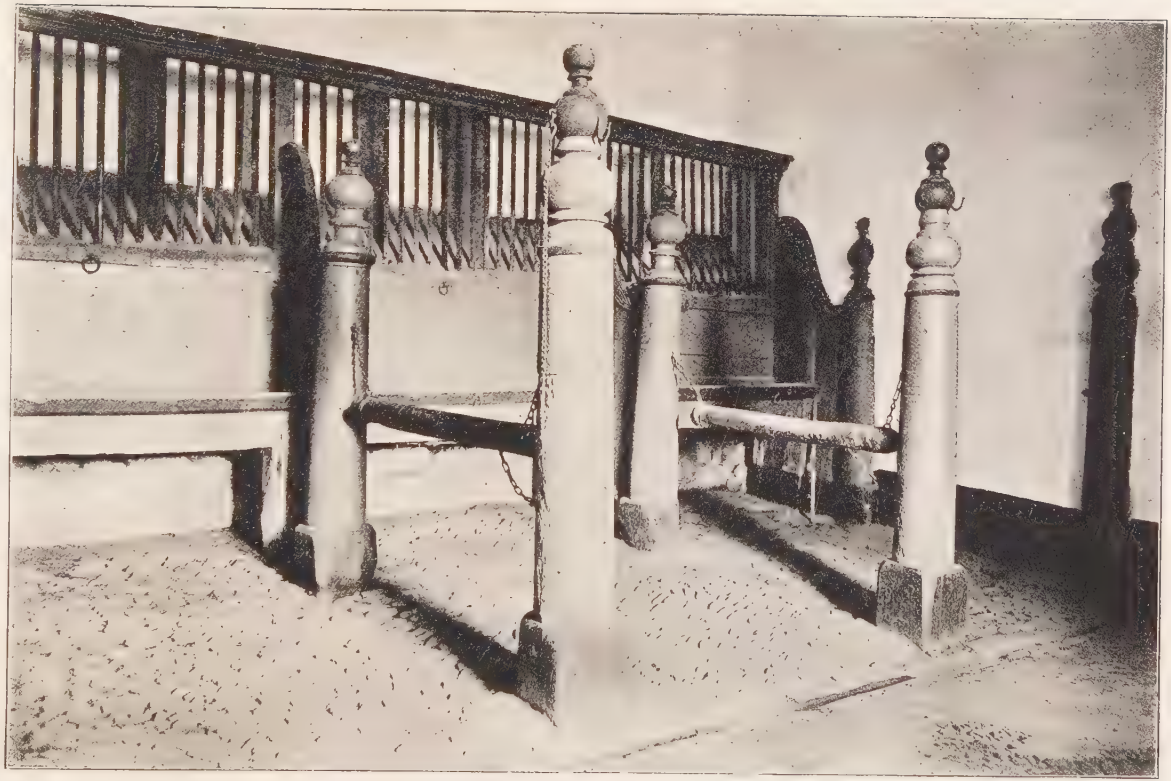
George Luttrell, the first of that name, may from some points of view be regarded as the creator of the existing Castle. Dissatisfied with the irregular mediæval buildings which he found at the eastern end of the Lower Ward, he set himself to convert them into a mansion suitable to the requirements of a more luxurious age. Retaining at least two projecting towers and the thick outer walls on three sides, he inserted in the latter a series of square-headed windows, each divided by a mullion and a transom into four oblong lights. Furthermore he entirely reconstructed the façade, giving to it as symmetrical an appearance as circumstances would allow. All his external masonry is laid in regular courses of red stone with quoins of a lighter colour. Within the Castle, his walls may be recognised as being thinner than those of the thirteenth century and thicker than those of the eighteenth. Owing to the slope of the ground and perhaps also to earlier arrangements, he found it difficult to establish uniform levels throughout the mansion, and so divided it into two sections, each comprising three storeys, the floors of the rooms in the southern section being several feet higher than those of the rooms on the northern side of the transverse wall. To him may certainly be attributed the ornamental plaster ceiling of the Hall, the frieze of the

[1] D.C.M. XIV. 5.

Gallery, the balusters of part of the smaller staircase, and at least two architraves within the existing fabric.

Although the date '1589' is to be seen under a large coat of arms in the Hall, and an iron fire-back there bears the arms and initials of Queen Elizabeth, the remodelling of the Castle was not completed until thirty years later. In October 1617, George Luttrell entered into an agreement with William Arnold of Charlton Musgrove, gentleman, who was reputed to have had "great experience in architecture," with regard to "a house or parcell of building to be sett up and built within the castle of Dunster." Arnold was to supply a 'plot,' or plan, and an 'upright,' or elevation, of the projected edifice, and to oversee the work until the completion of the roof. Luttrell was to pay him 40*l.* in instalments for his pains, to defray his travelling expenses, and to give him a beneficial lease of lands called Burchams, the Hollingborrowes, and Lyncroft, situate in the north-western part of Dunster. Many persons less litigious than George Luttrell have been known to quarrel with their architects, and it is not surprising to find that, within two years, Arnold had to apply to the Court of Chancery to enforce the settlement of his claim. For the defence it was contended that he had substituted a fresh plan for that originally approved, and that the building actually in course of erection did not agree with either. It was also stated that there had been a great waste of good material, that the work had been unduly protracted and imperfectly done, and that the cost, which had been estimated at 462*l.*, was likely to amount to 1200*l.*[1] An allusion to stairs leading from the new building into the new cellar, and another allusion to a pre-existing back wall,

[1] Chancery Proceedings, series II, bundle 299, no. 307.



THE STABLES,
DUNSTER CASTLE.
INTERIOR.

seem to show that Arnold's addition to the Castle comprised the central portion of the main façade. An overmantel in the principal room leading out of the Gallery, removed from the room on the first floor now demolished, bears the date '1620.'

Dunster Castle suffered some injury during the siege of 1645 and 1646, and it certainly lost much of its medieval character in 1650, when three hundred men were employed to dismantle its fortifications. The chapel of St. Stephen and other ancient buildings on the summit of the Tor were then totally demolished, while the Lower Ward was laid open by pulling down at least two towers and all the curtain wall on the western side. Prynne also records the destruction of 'a fair new building', which cannot be located.

There is no documentary evidence as to the date of the extensive stables belonging to the Luttrell family which stand below the Gatehouse, at the corner of the Bailey, afterwards called Castle Street. In an exposed position just without the *enceinte* of the Castle, they can hardly have escaped considerable damage in the course of the long siege: their roof must have been renewed once or twice since then. The mullions of the windows are of wood. The chief interest of the stables is, however, in the interior, where there are now twenty-eight stalls, exhibiting three varieties of design, but all apparently erected in the first half of the seventeenth century. Untouched by any modern 'restorer,' they merit the careful examination of architects.

Colonel Francis Luttrell and Mary his wife made some internal changes at the Castle in the sumptuous style of their time. To them is due the elaborate plaster ceiling of the Parlour, divided into panels and enriched with raised foliage and figures in circular medallions. The continuity of the garlands of flow-

ers along the frieze is broken by two shields of the arms of Luttrell impaling those of Tregonwell, and a separate crest, which, curiously enough, is that of Tregonwell.[1] The work may have been done under the direction of the lady and with money provided by her, for she was a considerable heiress. It bears the date "ANNO DOMMINI (*sic*) CHRISTI MDCLXXXI." To the same period must be ascribed the former architraves of the two doorways in the Parlour richly carved in oak, the one giving access to the Hall and the other to a small room which is described in 1690, in 1705 and in 1741, as "the Withdrawing Room," and in 1781 as "the Library." This room has an ornamented ceiling similar in character to that of the adjoining Parlour, now the Dining Room, and obviously executed at the same time.

The Great Staircase, which is the chief architectural glory of Dunster Castle dates also from the reign of Charles the Second. It may perhaps occupy the site of a staircase of the previous century. Although fitted into a medieval tower with a rounded exterior, it is rectangular in plan, the ornamental plaster ceiling being an oblong, similar in character to that of the Parlour, but somewhat severer in design. The general scheme of this staircase and some of the details may be compared with those of the staircase at Tythrop House, near Thame in Oxfordshire.[2] It is more customary than correct to attribute all such work to Grinling Gibbons. At Dunster, the stairs, the dado against the external walls, the plinth opposite, the newels and the massive hand-rail are all of oak, while the perforated panels between the newels, and the vases of fruit and flowers above the newels, are

[1] There is an illustration of part of this ceiling in Statham's *English Homes*, p. 106.

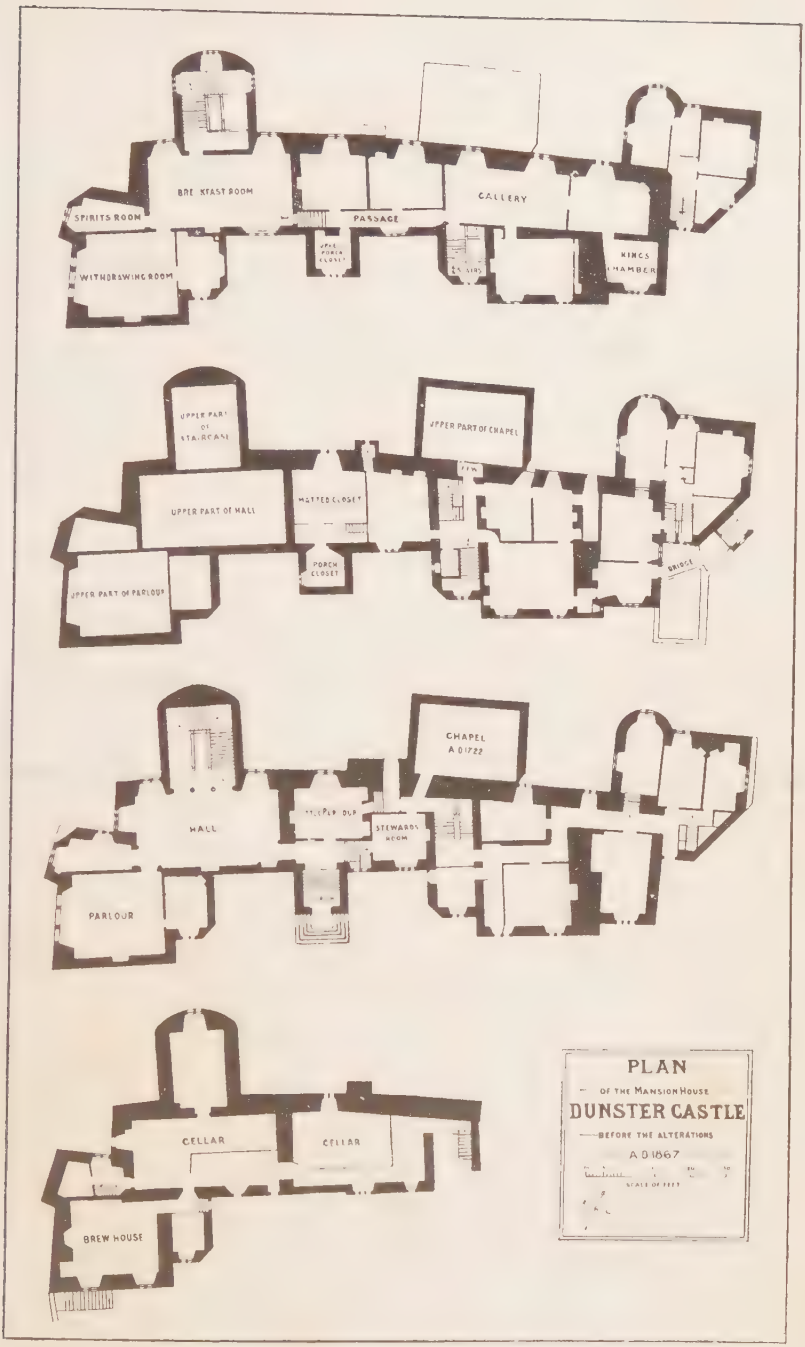
[2] See the plates in Statham's *English Homes*, pp. 104, 105, 176-179.

THE GREAT STAIRCASE,
DUNSTER CASTLE.

elaborately carved in elm. Oak and elm alike were, until thirty years ago, thickly covered with paint, one of the lower layers of which was dark brown relieved with gold. All this has been stripped off and the wood has been revealed. In the open panels on the left of the stairs, the carver has allowed his fancy to run riot, and, amid graceful foliage, one may see cherubs blowing horns, hounds in full chase after a stag and a fox, and guns and military trophies, allusive perhaps to Francis Luttrell's devotion to arms and sport.

As completed in the later part of the seventeenth century, the Staircase seems to have been separated from the Hall by a wall or screen pierced with two openings, each of which was flanked by engaged columns with capitals finely carved in lime. The gallery, or return, of the staircase on the first floor seems to have given access to a large landing over part of the Hall. In 1691, there were "in the Staircase" various pieces of furniture—"one small round table, two tables with foulding leaves, one couch" and eight cushions, which may have been on the window-seats of the landing. "One large casement and its frame," clearly moveable, may have served to keep off the draught either on the ground floor or on the first floor. In 1741, there were "in the Great Staircase" "a mahogany harpsichord" and "four elbow cane chairs and four other cane chairs." The inventory of that year devotes a separate section to "the closett under the Great Staircase," which contained "a walnutt scrutore, four cane chairs," eight framed prints, over three hundred volumes of books, and various small objects. Here there were "a stove grate and huffer," corresponding with "one grate of iron for sea coals" that was standing "in the staircase" protected by a fender, in 1691.

The inventory of 1691 enumerates the rooms in the Castle in regular sequence, giving the names that they then respectively bore. Many of these names were, however, altered from time to time in the course of the eighteenth century, whenever changes were made in the colour of hangings and furniture. Thus, to take one instance, 'the White Chamber' of 1691 and 1705, on the northern side of the Gallery, was known as 'the Yellow Chamber' in 1741, and as 'the Red Chamber' in 1781. At some date subsequent to 1815, it began to be erroneously called 'King Charles's Room.' 'The King's Chamber' of 1691 and 1705, which is explicitly described as situate "within" the Red Room of that time, was a small room with only one window and no fireplace. After the closing of the Castle for ten years (1737-1747), and the re-modelling of part of the interior by Henry Fownes Luttrell, it lost its old name. In 1781, it was merely 'the Best Dressing Room,' within 'the Best Bedroom' at the western end of the Gallery. However, there still lingered a tradition that Charles the Second, when Prince of Wales, had occupied some room near the Gallery, and it was known that, in the course of his adventures, he had been glad to avail himself of hiding-places. Inasmuch then as there is a narrow, dark closet behind the panelling of the Red Chamber of 1781, a mistaken idea arose that he may have used the room to which it is an annexe. When he came to Dunster as a boy in 1645, the Castle was one of the principal fortresses in the west of England, and was manned by soldiers devoted to his father's cause; when he passed through Somerset after the disastrous Battle of Worcester, in his flight from Boscobel to Lyme, he did not come to Dunster. In point of fact there was no communication between


BRE. KFAST ROOM
GALLERY
SPIRITS ROOM
PASSAGE
WITHDRAWING ROOM
KINGS CHAMBER
UPPER PART OF STAIRCASE
UPPER PART OF CHAPEL
UPPER PART OF HALL
MATTED CLOSET
PORCH CLOSET
UPPER PART OF PARLOUR
BRIDGE
CHAPEL A.D 1722
HALL
STEWARDS ROOM
PARLOUR
CELLAR
CELLAR
BREW HOUSE
PLAN
OF THE MANSION HOUSE
DUNSTER CASTLE
BEFORE THE ALTERATIONS
A.D 1867
SCALE OF FEET

the room which he really occupied and the closet, or possible hiding-place, which was separated from it until 1869 by a very thick stone wall.

The inventories of 1741 and 1781 alike mention 'the Spirit's Room,' and the latter shows it to have been situate immediately above the little room at the eastern end of the Hall. Although the name has survived to the present time, nothing is known about its origin ; Dunster Castle has no ghost.

The furniture specified in the inventory of 1691 would nowadays be considered very scanty. In the Great Hall there were only "one small square table" some fire irons, "one large brass candlestick with two (six?) socketts laquered yellow, and eighteen chaires of redd leather." In the Great Parlour there were twenty-one "(Turkey) wrought chairs," two slabs of black and white marble on wooden frames serving as "side tables," and the necessary fire irons. The Withdrawing Room adjoining contained nothing except "eight large pictures and five small pictures." So again, in the Long Gallery the furniture consisted of "six pieces of arras of one suit and two pieces of arras of another suit, two white lacquered sconces, and eight pictures." The contents of the bedrooms were more valuable. Many of them were hung with tapestry and had curtains to the windows. The White Chamber adjoining the Gallery was furnished in a style then fashionable. A table, two stands, a large mirror, eight chairs and two pictures in it are alike described as "Japan." Here there were "fourteen little toyes over the chimney cornish." Mrs. Luttrell, who seems to have occupied the bedroom over the Great Parlour, also had a table and two cabinets of 'Japan,' and an "olive chest of drawers" that probably came from Italy. There were some "hang-

ings of guilt leather " in her " closett, " and half of one of the rooms occupied by the household was " hung with greene and guilted leather. " [1]

Most of the tapestry and many pieces of furniture were removed to London by Mrs. Luttrell, and perished in the fire at her house. Part of the residue, including various portraits left at Dunster, was eventually purchased by Colonel Alexander Luttrell from her second husband, Sir Jacob Bancks.

When Colonel Alexander Luttrell went to live at Dunster Castle in 1705, he re-named many of the rooms, but he did not make any important structural changes. Dorothy Luttrell, his relict, was more enterprising. Until her time there was only one approach to the Castle. After ascending the direct road from the town to Sir Hugh Luttrell's gateway and passing under its vaulted archway, carriages, horsemen, and pedestrians had alike to turn abruptly to the right through the earlier gateway of Sir Reynold de Mohun, and thence to describe a curve to the left, still ascending, in order to reach the porch on the western façade of the Jacobean mansion. From first to last the road was exceedingly steep, and the angle between the two gateways was so sharp that great skill was required to drive a carriage safely through them in descending to the town. Tradition says that a horse had its brains dashed out there, and minor accidents must have been numerous. Mrs. Luttrell therefore made an alternative road branching off to the left opposite to the stables, and winding upwards round the eastern side of the Tor until it reached the level of the south-eastern angle of the Castle. There it ended in a little platform close to the domestic offices. If it was less dignified than the older approach, it was at any rate

[1] Chancery Proceedings, Mitford 538, no. 2.

considerably safer. 'The New Way,' as it was called was finished in 1720, and the trees lining it are very correctly represented as young in Buck's view of Dunster Castle, which was engraved in 1733. To protect it from above a yew hedge was planted below the eastern front of the Castle, and this hedge has grown since to a height of about 54 feet.

The New Way was barely finished when Dorothy Luttrell began to build a florid chapel projecting from the eastern front of the Castle, partly on the site of an ancient semicircular tower. This work was executed in 1723 and the following year, at a cost of about 1300*l.* under the direction of Sir James Thornhill, who painted for the interior a huge picture of the Lifting up of the Brazen Serpent. By a will dated in October 1723, Dorothy Luttrell bequeathed 350*l.* for the completion of the Chapel. There is a definite statement that it was eventually consecrated. An indifferent portrait of George Hooper, Bishop of Bath and Wells, still hanging in the Castle, may be a memorial of his connexion with this chapel. A silver flagon, salver, and cup with cover are mentioned in 1744 as belonging to the communion table.[1] These are now in use at the new chapel of St. Michael at Alcombe, having been presented by the present owner of the Castle.

In the early part of the eighteenth century, the site of the ancient keep was levelled and converted into a bowling-green. Any relics of the chapel of St. Stephen and of other buildings erected by the Mohuns that had survived the wanton demolition of 1650 were then removed. Some traces of a drain on the west side are all that now remain. An octagonal summer-house at the eastern end of the bowling green, almost overhanging the inhabited part of the

[1] Master Eld's Report in the Chancery suit Kymer v. Trevelyan 23 July 1744.

Castle, has a good leaden pipe-head with the Luttrell arms and the date '1727.' A large mullioned window in it dates from the fifteenth century. In 1741, this summer-house had " a stove grate and huffer, fire shovel, tongs and poker, and four pieces of the hunting chace, " and " a mahogany octagon table and 8 leather bottomed chairs with walnutt frames. " The room beneath it contained " twelve pair of Brasil bowles and 3 jacks " valued at 2*l.* 11*s.*

At some period between 1705 and 1737, one of the Luttrells acquired the magnificent *corami*, or pictures on leather, that adorn the Gallery at Dunster Castle. It has been seen that, in 1691, there were some " hangings of guilt leather" in Mrs. Luttrell's " Closet, " but they must have been comparatively small, and there is a note in 1705 that almost all the furniture of that room had been " sent to London, except the guilt leather sent to Abbey Milton. " In the inventory of 1741, " gilt leather hangings " are specified among the moveable objects in the Gallery. Alexander Luttrell, deceased, had also possessed a set of " gilt leather hangings " of lesser value that were in his house at Venn near Heathfield. In 1744, there is specific mention of " the gilt leather hangings being the History of Mark Anthony and Cleopatra" in the Gallery, valued at 21*l.* The next allusion to them is in a letter from Margaret Fownes Luttrell to her husband, undated, but evidently written in or soon after 1759, from Bath. In this, she says :—

" I have a great mind to consult Cooke about repairing Mark Anthony and Cleopatra, whether a gilt leather border would be the best method, and perhaps his man could do it better than any one in the country. "

Eventually the *corami* were flattened and affixed to the walls of the Gallery. As originally made in

Spain or Portugal about the middle of the seventeenth century, the historical panels must have been intended for some particular house, and they accordingly vary considerably in width, their height, exclusive of borders, being about 6 ft. 10 in. The subjects are:—

(1) The Triumvirate, Cæsar, Antony and Lepidus, at Rome, with soldiers and trumpeters in the background.

(2) Antony, seated on a throne, receiving Cleopatra, who kneels before him, one of her attendants bearing her train. In the background is the barge in which she had come to him.

(3) Antony taking Cleopatra by the hand and holding over her head a garland, to symbolise the grant of authority over Phœnicia.

(4) Antony and Cleopatra on horseback flying before Cæsar's soldiers.

(5) Antony presenting to an attendant a dagger wherewith to stab him.

(6) Cleopatra applying to her breast an asp, which has been brought to her in a basket of figs.

All these panels are in very fine condition and richly coloured, the surface relieved in places by the use of iron tools. The metallic decoration of silver foil assumes a golden aspect where covered by a transparent yellow glaze. In addition to the historical series, there are a number of busts of comely damsels rising out of rich foliage, which may perhaps have served as frame-work, and there are various borders which have been unfortunately cut up from time to time and misplaced. Leather hangings of this sort are by no means common. There is, or was, a set at the old palace at Turin. Another set is stated to hang at Knowsley. A third set at Blenheim, presented by Victor Amadeus of Savoy to the great Duke of

Marlborough, is based upon drawings by Perino del Vaga.[1]

Henry Fownes Luttrell made considerable alterations at Dunster Castle between 1747 and 1774, settling every detail himself. In the Great Parlour he closed the two Jacobean windows facing northwards, but without altering their exterior, and he inserted a Venetian window of three lights in the eastern wall. Pursuing a similar course in the large bedroom over it, he converted it into a Drawing Room. The ornaments for the ceiling were made by the firm of Spinnage and Crompton in London, and sent down to Dunster, in 1758, in a box weighing only 50*lb.* to be put up by local workmen.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, paper hangings had come into favour as a substitute for arras, and there is at Dunster a letter from Henry Shiffner to his friend Henry Fownes Luttrell quoting the prices of suitable papers in London. "India paper representing trees, birds and flowers of various colours on a whitish ground" was offered at 4*s.* 6*d.* per square yard. "India paper representing the several stages of a Chinese manufacture upon a greyish ground .... a smaller pattern, but the figures very compleat and intersperst with romantick views" could not be obtained under 7*s.* per square yard. "Flock paper" was quoted at only 1*s.* 6*d.* The Castle had to be practically refurnished at this period.

In the Great Staircase, Henry Fownes Luttrell made various changes, several of which can hardly be described as improvements. Thus he abolished the two openings leading from it into the Hall and substituted three arches of less substantial character. While two of the engaged columns were made to do duty

[1] Waagen's *Treasures of Art*, vol. iii, p. 133.

ANTONY CROWNING CLEOPATRA.

again as such, the other two were enlarged and converted into detached columns to support the new arches. The bill rendered in 1773 by Stowey and Jones states explicitly that one third was added to each of their carved capitals, and that new bases and necks were provided for them. All this was removed in 1869, but the gallery immediately above remains as remodelled in 1773. The delicate mouldings of the dado of this gallery are markedly different from the bolder mouldings of the dado of the staircase. Pine takes the place of oak and elm. The cost of the two doorways facing the head of the stairs is minutely specified in the bill :—

" Two sett of best moulded double faced archatraves with three members full inriched, 6*l.* 6*s.* "

" Two door caps with inriched mouldings and ornamental friezes and basso relief tabletts, 12*l.* 12*s.* "

" Two mahogany doors 2 inches thick of best Jamaica wood framed into six pannels, wouth mouldings on pannels the same fluted and patera corners, 12*l.* 12*s.* "

The charges for packing, carriage and fixing were of course additional. It is worthy of notice that the doorcaps facing the Staircase are ornamented with stags' heads and hunting horns, thus carrying on the idea suggested by the carved panels of the seventeenth century below.

At some unspecified date, Henry Fownes Luttrell, departing strangely from the style prevalent in his own day and usually followed by him, made a large window on the staircase from an atrocious design which he believed to be " Gothique. " This has been removed. From March 1772 to September 1773, workmen of different professions were employed in making alterations in Dunster Castle. A ' Breakfast Room ' was created over the Hall, the oaken

flooring and the two eastern windows alone dating from an earlier period. To connect it with the Gallery, a passage was cut through two intervening bedrooms, the nearer one called "the Red Chamber" in 1691, "Mrs. Lucy Luttrell's Chamber" in 1705, "the Purple Chamber" in 1744, and "the Yellow Room" in 1781, the further one called "the Yellow Chamber" in 1691, "the Plodd Room" in 1705, "the Plodd Chamber" in 1741, "the Plaid Room" in 1744, and "the Chintz Room" in 1781. All the southern part of the Castle, used chiefly by the servants, was so remodelled that it is almost impossible to ascertain the previous disposition and names of the different rooms.

The alterations that Henry Fownes Luttrell made within his dwelling-house were insignificant in comparison with those that he made outside it. By creating the present Park, by planting trees, by building a tower on Conigar, and by doing other things of the sort, he greatly enhanced the natural beauties of Dunster. In this chapter, however, it is necessary only to describe the change which he wrought on the Tor, a change which unfortunately could hardly have been carried out without serious detriment to the medieval character of the Castle. While every antiquary must deplore the destruction of the Lower Ward, due consideration should be given to the necessities of the case, and a country gentleman need not be described as a Vandal because he wanted to have a safe roadway to his own front door. A surveyor named Thomas Hull proposed in the first instance that such a roadway should ascend the Tor in zigzags above the stables, but this scheme was found impracticable or undesirable. As an alternative, he suggested that the New Way of 1720 should be continued round the

THE GATEHOUSE,
DUNSTER CASTLE,
FROM THE GREEN COURT.

western and northern sides of the hill to the porch of the Jacobean façade. In order to do this, the whole of the Lower Ward was reduced to one level by lowering it slightly on the south and raising it very considerably on the north. A wall against the hill on the south and another wall connecting it with the old curtain wall on the north were alike removed. The original road that passed through Sir Reynold de Mohun's gateway towards the Jacobean mansion was entirely obliterated by piling tons of earth upon it, covered with green turf. Happily, the gateway itself was spared, and its remarkable doors, although closed, were protected by the erection of a wall behind them. For the benefit of persons on foot, a little staircase was made close by, to give access to the new artificial platform above known as 'the Green Court.' All this was done in 1764.

Up to the date of these drastic changes, the ground floor of Sir Hugh Luttrell's gatehouse had been directly accessible from the Lower Ward on the south. The effect of them was, however, to leave not only the ground floor, but also the middle storey, below the newly created level. Some remains of a vaulted chamber adjoining appear to have been simply buried. The Gatehouse itself was materially altered. A doorway of the early part of the sixteenth century and an oaken door, taken from some demolished building, were put together and set up at its southern end, on Hull's new level, to give access to the spiral staircase leading to the two lower storeys, and across the landing of that staircase to the upper south room. On either side of the door was built a polygonal turret, battlemented above and pierced below with narrow apertures intended to represent ancient loopholes. The original turret above the northern staircase was at the same time

removed and the roofs of the two sections were reduced to uniformity. So cleverly did Hull do his work that it has sometimes been ascribed to the sixteenth century. Very little of the old curtain wall is now visible to the west of the Gatehouse, its external face being almost entirely hidden by earth placed in front of it.

From the time of the first Henry Fownes Luttrell to that of his great-grandson, the present owner, nothing was done to Dunster Castle beyond necessary repairs of a minor character. Hardly a piece of furniture was changed. It is unfortunate that nothing is known about the history of three curious and interesting chairs now preserved in the Castle, the description of such things in the old inventories being very meagre. A picture of the largest of them, which is made of ash, is given opposite. The other two, made of pear-wood with triangular seats of oak, are much simpler. Chairs of a similar, though rare, type exist at Hereford Cathedral, the Bishop's Palace at Wells, the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, Harvard College, U.S.A., Barlborough Hall in Derbyshire, Cheshunt Manor, and some other private houses. A recent writer goes so far as to say that the type is " of Byzantine origin... introduced into Scandinavia and from thence doubtless brought to England by the Normans. "[1] The three examples at Dunster cannot, however, be ascribed to an earlier period than the sixteenth century. Horace Walpole was for some years very envious of Richard Bateman who had picked up in farmhouses in Herefordshire a number of old chairs, " the seats triangular, the backs, arms, and legs loaded with turnery. "[2] Eventually he secured six of them for Strawberry Hill after the

[1] Macquoid's *History of English Furniture* vol. i. pp. 71-73.

[2] *Letters*, 20 Aug. 1761 ; 24 Sept. 1762 ; 16 March 1765.

TURNED CHAIR,
DUNSTER CASTLE.

death of Bateman, who had disfigured some with heraldic and other painting. [1]

Mr. G. F. Luttrell had not been long in possession of Dunster Castle before he resolved to make material alterations in the fabric, so as to adapt it to modern requirements. The task entrusted by him to the late Mr. A. Salvin was singularly difficult, because there was so little ground available for the necessary extension. In the first place, additional accommodation was provided by pulling down the northern tower of the Jacobean façade and building a more important tower on its site, with a turret staircase attached. The tower over the main entrance was at the same time rebuilt on a larger scale, and a passage was ingeniously constructed in the roof. On the eastern side of the Castle, the incongruous Chapel of 1722 was replaced by a lofty tower containing a drawing-room on the ground-floor and bedrooms above. In the Parlour, in the room over it, in the Great Staircase and elsewhere, stone mullioned windows of simple design were substituted for the Venetian and the so-called ' Gothic ' windows inserted by Henry Fownes Luttrell in the middle of the eighteenth century.

The internal alterations devised by Mr. Salvin were numerous and important. An additional hall, loftier than the old one, was created by the abolition of two rooms and a passage on the ground floor and the like on the floor immediately above. The kitchen and other offices further south were converted into sitting rooms, and a new range of offices was constructed between the new northern tower and the old gateway of the Lower Ward. The massive doors of this gateway, closed in 1761, were reopened, and a staircase was made behind it to give access to the

[1] *Catalogue of Strawberry Hill* (1842), seventeenth day, lots 102, 114.

Green Court in front of the house. By a change of floor levels and the removal of a transverse wall, the two upper rooms of Sir Hugh Luttrell's gatehouse were thrown into one.

As seen from the town, from the park, and from elsewhere, Dunster Castle is now more imposing and withal far more picturesque than it was forty years ago. The chief matter for regret in connexion with Mr. Salvin's work is that he should have thought it necessary to remove the handsome woodwork of the Parlour and the Hall, dating from the time of Charles the Second.[1]

It remains to be added that the Castle is now approached by a carriage-road winding round the Tor on a gradient much easier than that of the eighteenth century, and commanding beautiful views of the Park and the vale of Avill.

The collection of pictures at Dunster Castle has been enriched in recent years by the transfer of several portraits of Drewes from Wootton Fitzpaine, and portraits from Nethway, including one of Henry, Prince of Wales, by or after Van Somer, and a large full-length by Bower of a gorgeous cavalier, aged 24 in 1633, but unfortunately nameless. Little is known about the history of two bronze guns lately removed from Minehead to Dunster Castle. They bear the date 1787, the name and arms of Pope Pius the Sixth and the arms of a Cardinal. They must presumably have come by sea from Civita Vecchia or Ancona.

[1] Some of it is now in the Billiard-room.

FIREPLACE IN THE HALL
DUNSTER CASTLE.

CHAPTER XII.

Dunster Church and Priory.

The earliest mention of the church of Dunster is to be found in a charter of the first William de Mohun, which may be translated thus:—

"Be it known to all faithful members of the Catholic Church both present and future that I, William de Moione, pricked by the fear of God, give and grant in perpetuity for the weal of my soul and that of William, King of the English, and those of all my ancestors and successors, to the church of St. Peter of Bath and to John, Bishop of that monastery, and to the monks both present and future, the church of St. George of Dunestore, and myself, and the tithe of the same town, both of vines and of ploughs and of the market as also of all sheep, and the whole town of Alcume and all things belonging to it, free and quit of all service, that is to say a hide of land, and a moiety of the tithe of Maneheafe, and the whole tithe of Bradeuude, and all the tithe of Carentun so far as it belongs to me, and the whole tithe of Niwetun, and a moiety of the tithe of Brunfeld, and the whole tithe of Stokelande, and the whole [tithe] of Kilvestune, and two fisheries, the one belonging to Dunesthor and the other to Carentun, and the whole tithe of my mares on the moors. And I grant all these things to the aforesaid church of Bath by consent of my wife Adelisa, in order that the Bishop and monks of the same may build and raise the church of St. George. Of this benefaction there are these witnesses on my behalf—Henry de Port, and Durand the steward, and Ogis and Geroius, and Walter de Celsui, and Robert le Blond (*flavus*) and Geoffrey and Robert my sons, and Wilmund my

brother, and Odo de Altaribus, and William de Hermodville, and Robert son of Richard, and Humphrey de Pierrepont (*Petreponte*), and Ralph son of Osbern, and Herbert of Kent, and Richard le Blond (*flavus*), and Picot, and Engelram son of Juelin, and Alexander de Percy. These are on behalf of the Bishop, that is to say Gireward the monk, and Girebert the archdeacon, and Dunstan the priest, and Gilbert the priest, and William the clerk, and Adelard the steward, and Turald and Sabian."[1]

The charter is not dated, but as it was issued during the episcopate of John and the reign of William, it may with certainty be referred to the decade between 1090 and 1100. Two of the witnesses, Durand and Ogis, were tenants under William de Mohun at the time of the Domesday Survey of 1086. The property given to the monks comprised the manor of Alcombe, the advowson of the church of Dunster, dedicated to St. George who was popular with the Normans, and tithes of various manors which William de Mohun held in demesne, Dunster, Minehead, Broadwood, Carhampton, Newton now known as Bicknoller, Broomfield, Stockland now known as Shurton, and Kilton. The two fisheries mentioned may have been in the little river flowing from Avill, or on the sea-shore.

The charter of William de Mohun is known to have been confirmed by St. Anselm and by William Rufus, but the charter of the Archbishop and that of the King have alike disappeared.[2]

Ere long, a moiety of the tithes of Exford was given to the monks of Bath by William de Mohun, probably the second of that name. It was he who gave them some land called Avelham, for the benefit of the soul of his son Ralph, and apparently three

[1] *Two Chartularies of Bath* (S.R.S.), C. 34.

[2] *Ibid*, C. 65.

ferlings of land at Northcombe.[1] From documents of much later date, it seems clear that Avelham was near the southern end of Dunster, and that Northcombe was in the neighbouring parish of Cutcombe.[2]

Between the years 1138 and 1161, the monks of Bath obtained from Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, a solemn confirmation of the lands and tithes granted to them at Dunster, Carhampton, Stockland, Kilton, Avelham, Staunton, Minehead and Exford with the church of Dunster. They must have acquired the tithes of Staunton from the person who held that manor of the lord of Dunster by military service, as it is not mentioned in any of the early charters issued by the Mohuns. For some reason unknown, the archbishop ignores the tithes of Broadwood, Newton and Broomfield, specified in successive charters. If correctly transcribed, his charter is remarkable as recognising the canonization of his eminent predecessor, Anselm of Aosta.[3]

William de Mohun the Third confirmed the grants made by his predecessors. His charter is obviously based upon that of William de Mohun the First, as given above, but it contains some variations. Thus, among the tithes of Dunster it specifies those of the mills and the copses, and it mentions the church of Kilton as well as the tithes of that parish. On the other hand it contains no reference whatever to the

[1] D.C.M. XVI. 7

[2] *Taxatio.*

[3] *Two Chartularies of Bath*, C. 55. The original charter has long disappeared, and '*Sancti Anselmi*' in the early transcript of it at Cambridge may be a clerical error for '*Sancte memorie Anselmi*', a phrase which occurs earlier in the document. "His name", writes Dean Church, "as was to be expected, passed into the roll of saints; but apparently the steps of the process are not clear. His canonization was demanded, but without effect, by Thomas Becket; the final ratification of it is ascribed to a papal bull some centuries later." *Saint Anselm*, p. 301. On the other hand there is a bull of Pope Alexander the Third of the year 1163, empowering the Archbishop of Canterbury to proceed with the canonization desired. Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 42.

monks of Bath, all the endowments being described as belonging to the church of Dunster.[1] Although the charter of William de Mohun the First cannot be regarded as founding a cell, or priory, at Dunster, it is quite possible that a few of the Benedictine monks of Bath may have been established there as early as the eleventh century, in pursuance of an unrecorded agreement made with him. The first specific reference to a religious house at Dunster occurs in 1177, when the Bishop of Winchester, as guardian of the heir of William de Mohun, paid 54*s.* "to the monks of St. George of Dunster" for tithes from his ward's estate for the previous eighteen months.[2] By this date at any rate, if not much earlier, the Benedictines were settled at Dunster on the northern side of the parochial church.

A charter of William de Mohun which, if authentic, must be ascribed to the fourth of that name, defines the boundaries of the hide of land at Alcombe belonging to the monks, and enumerates among their endowments the tithe of the demesne of Shurton, which was really Stockland, and some land at Kynewordisham which the *Taxatio* of 1291, shows to be Kersham in Luxborough.[3]

In the course of the twelfth century, the Benedictine monks duly built and raised the church of St. George at Dunster. Some work of that period remains to this day, though much altered in later centuries. The northern wall of the nave is Norman, as is also the central part of the western wall of the nave, in

[1] D.C.M. XVI. 7. It is worthy of remark that a bull of Pope Honorius the Third dated at the Lateran 13 Kal. Dec. a.p. 7 (A.D. 1224) confirms to the monks of Dunster only two churches, those of Dunster and Carhampton. D.C.M. XVI. 2.

[2] Pipe Roll, 23 Hen. II. Dorset and Somerset.

[3] *Two Chartularies of Bath*, L. 845. The charter may have been forged with a view to the general confirmation granted by John de Mohun the Fifth in 1341. Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. iv. p. 202.

which a round arched doorway was discovered and reopened in 1876. It is almost certain that the nave, which measured internally about 80 feet in length by 26 in breadth, had no side aisles, and that it had an almost flat wooden roof, much higher up than the arches that now exist on either side. At the eastern end of the nave was a large round-headed arch, of which the jambs and capitals remain. Beyond this was a tower, or the place for a tower. Whether the chancel was square or apsidal it is impossible to say.

As early as the reign of John, the church of St. George was served by a secular priest called simply Richard the Chaplain, Vicar of Dunster. On his death, or resignation, in that reign, Richard, Prior of Bath gave the "perpetual vicarage" of Dunster to Robert de Vaus, and promised that he should have free food at the monastic table, food for his groom or servant, and forage for his palfrey.[1] As the monks were not necessarily in priests' orders, and were liable at any time to be recalled to the mother house at Bath, it was convenient that the cure of souls and the maintenance of services for the lay-folk should be entrusted to a secular vicar, nominated by the Prior of Bath and to some extent dependent upon him, but instituted, as to a benefice, by the Bishop of the diocese and not liable to be removed without good cause. The emoluments of the Vicar of Dunster were, however, so small in the middle ages, and his position so subordinate, that resignations were frequent.

There was some controversy in 1240 between the monks of Bath and Sir Reynold de Mohun, the former claiming tithe of the hay of Caremore, a large field in his demesne in the parish of Carhampton,

[1] *Two Chartularies of Bath*, L. 70.

tithe of the pasture of the Waterletes in the parishes of Dunster and Carhampton, tithe of a windmill at Kilton, and tithe of his pigs at Dunster, Carhampton and Kilton. The question was referred by the Pope to the Dean, the Precentor, and the Succentor of Salisbury, who, in the following year, heard both parties in the Lady Chapel at Glastonbury, and effected an elaborate agreement between them.[1] There is no need to set out the details here, but it is worthy of mention that the document contains the earliest mention of Marshwood Park, the principal park of the lords of Dunster, situate about a mile and a half to the east of their Castle.

At some unspecified date, Sir Reynold de Mohun confirmed to the church of Dunster "and to the monks there serving God" the endowments granted to them by his father and his ancestors, but it is significant that his charter to that effect follows almost word for word the charters of the third William de Mohun, and makes no mention of Shurton or Kersham.[2] By another charter, he granted to the Prior and monks of Dunster and their successors in perpetuity every tenth pig, "live or dead," belonging to him at Dunster, Carhampton, and Kilton, in accordance with the terms of the compromise of 1241. He also released them from the obligation of doing suit to the court of his Hundred of Minehead, which had not been entirely absorbed into the Hundred of Carhampton.[3]

In the reign of Henry the Third, the Benedictine monks rebuilt and enlarged the chancel of the church of Dunster, in the prevailing style known as Early English or First Pointed. It measured internally 50

[1] Mohun Cartulary.
[2] D.C.M. xvi. 4.
[3] D.C.M. xvi.

feet in length by 22 in breadth, being thus somewhat narrower than the Norman nave. In the eastern wall there were three lancet windows, the central one higher, as usual, than the other two. There was a row of simpler lancets in the south wall, where the sedilia occupied the normal position. The small sacristy on the north, which retains its ancient stone altar, may also date from the thirteenth century, although its doorway and windows are of much later date. Another specimen of Early English work may be seen in the upper part of the curious opening between the southern transept and the south-eastern chapel. There is, however, some reason to doubt whether it occupies its original position.

The agreement made, in 1254, between Reynold de Mohun and the monks of Bath mentions a chapel of St. Lawrence in the Priory of Dunster, but does not define its situation.[1] In course of time the chapel of St. Lawrence became a popular chantry, served daily by a secular chaplain, who was more or less independent of the Prior and the Vicar alike. Various burgages in Dunster were given or bequeathed to it before the Reformation.[2]

In 1276, Walter Lucy arranged with the monks of Bath that a secular chaplain should say mass daily at the altar of the Holy Rood, after matins, for his soul and the souls of his wives Margery and Lucy, Robert Lucy and Agnes his wife, Roger Lucy and Sir John de Mohun and Eleanor his wife.[3] This chantry is described as 'perpetual' in 1308, when the chaplain received 20*s*. a year, but the allowance had been reduced to 13*s*. 4*d*. by 1333.[4] There was no separate endowment for it and, after a while, the Lucy

[1] D.C.M. XVI. 1. See above, p. 31.
[2] D.C.B. nos. 80, 91, 92, 93; D.C.M. XV. 5; *Somerset Chantries*, pp. 42, 219-221.
[3] *Two Chartularies of Bath*, L. 368.
[4] *Ibid.* L. 679, 745.

mass seems to have been undertaken by the Vicar or one of the other secular priests connected with the church. The altar of the Holy Rood presumably stood at the end of the nave, close to the north-western pier of the tower, and almost under the crucifix from which it took its name.

By a will dated and proved in 1369, Gilbert Scutt of Dunster directed that 3*lb.* of wax should be made into two candles to burn by his corpse on the night and the day of his burial, and afterwards to burn respectively before the altar of the Holy Rood and in the chapel of Our Lady.[1]

Although a Prior of Dunster is specifically mentioned before 1262, it is doubtful whether the little Benedictine house at that place had then any definite organisation.[2] A document of the year 1330 describes it as being of the foundation of John de Mohun, recently deceased, and Ada his wife, and fixes the number of members at five, that is to say a Prior and four brethren.[3] This was doubtless the John de Mohun for whose soul the monks continued to distribute 6*s.* 8*d.* yearly among the poor until the dissolution of the establishment in the reign of Henry the Eighth.[4]

Under an arrangement made between 1290 and 1301, the Prior and monks of Dunster used to pay 20 marks a year to the mother house at Bath for the two churches of Carhampton, of which half a mark was due to the chamberlain on the feast of St. Carantoc and a like amount on the anniversary of Martin, Prior of Dunster.[5] There is mention in the reign of Edward the Second of a church of St. Carantoc at Carhamp-

[1] D.C.B. no. 12.
[2] *Two Chartularies of Bath*, L. 241.
[3] *Ibid.* L. 694.
[4] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. i. p. 220.
[5] D.C.M. XVI, 3.

ton.[1] The existing church is dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

When Robert of Sutton, Prior of Bath, was turned out of his place in order to make room for a papal nominee, he was sent to rule the little community at Dunster, and endued with special power to choose his own associates. An allowance of 20*l.* assigned to him, in 1332, for the increase of his position and honour, seems to have been purely personal.[2]

John de Mohun the Fifth issued three charters in favour of the Benedictine house that stood almost under his castle. The first of them, dated in 1341 when he was only just of full age, is a general confirmation of the gifts of his ancestors to the church of St. George and the monks, specifying all the endowments mentioned above and some others, that is to say pasture called Fowlersmarsh, land called Frackford (situate between Dunster and Avill), a ferling of the manor of Cutcombe at Chaldewell, another ferling between Stentwill and Cowbridge mill, several burgages in Dunster and the tithes of Combe and Codford.[3]

In this connexion it is worthy of remark that, at a somewhat later period, the monks of Bath interpolated a mention of the tithes of Shurton, Combe, Codford and Exford into a copy of the charter of the first William de Mohun.[4] Although the actual charter has long since disappeared, the earlier copy of it at Cambridge and several confirmations of it show clearly that these tithes were not named as part of the original endowment. The monks had recourse to falsification in order to support claims of which some at any rate needed no such assistance.

[1] Historical MSS. Comm. Tenth Report, App. vi, p. 73; Leland's *Itinerary*; Savage's *Hundred of Carhampton*, p. 287.

[2] *Register of Bishop Ralph* (S.R.S.) pp. 121, 176.

[3] Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. iv. p. 202.

[4] *Two Chartularies of Bath*, L. 844.

By a second charter, dated in August 1342, John de Mohun remitted to the Benedictine monks a yearly rent of 8*s.* 6*d.* due to him from burgages which they had acquired in the town of Dunster, and a yearly rent of 1*lb.* of pepper from Kilton. He also gave them common of pasture on Croydon for all their beasts at Cowbridge, pasture on Grabbist, and twelve cartloads of windfall wood for fuel from Marshwood Park, and the 'foreign' woods of Dunster, provided that the carts should not be too large to be drawn by two horses.[1] His third charter was merely a confirmation of the second, and the necessity for its issue is not obvious.[2]

In connexion with the endowments of the Priory, it may here be mentioned that the monastic estate in Dunster and the neighbourhood was a manor quite distinct from that of the Mohuns and Luttrells. None of the original court-rolls remain, but some extracts from them record the admission of tenants for life.[3] On the other hand, the Priory was merely a 'cell' subordinate to the larger establishment at Bath, whose Prior and Convent sometimes exercised the right of granting leases, corrodies, and the like.[4]

There is mention in 1345 of the sumptuous buildings erected by Adam of Cheddar, who had been appointed Prior of Dunster some eight years before.[5] It is, however, uncertain whether these were at Dunster or at Bath, where he then occupied the office of Chamberlain of the great Benedictine house. The earliest existing remains of the monastic buildings at the former place date only from the first half of the fifteenth century.

Adam of Cheddar may have had something to do

[1] D.C.M. XVI. 3.
D.C.M. XVI. 6.
D.C.M. VIII. 2; D.C.B. no. 51.

[4] *Two Chartularies of Bath, passim.*
[5] *Ibid.* L. 780, 876, 880.

with the erection of the great piers connected with pointed arches that carry the central tower of the church. From the fact that there are four such arches, uniform in size and design, it is clear that the building was intended to be cruciform at the time of their erection in the middle of the fourteenth century or soon after. The two eastern piers are supported by angle-buttresses which project through the chancel into the chapels on either side of it. The other two piers are built against the massive Norman work at the eastern end of the nave, and consequently occupy a larger space.

In January 1357, as it appears, a very interesting agreement *(pees)* was made, in the presence of Sir John de Mohun, between Richard of Childeston, Prior of Dunster, and the monks on the one side, and the parishioners on the other, with regard to the services of the church, the provision of lights, and the repair and maintenance of the aisles (*les eles*) and the central tower (*le clocher*).[1] The following is a summary of the terms which are recorded in clumsy French :—

(1) On festivals and Sundays, the Prior and the monks shall begin their service at such a time that high mass may be said in summer, between Easter and Michaelmas, by the hour of tierce (nine o'clock), and in winter, between Michaelmas and Easter, by twelve o'clock (*hur de midy ou nonne*) at latest. The

[1] The agreement is dated "in the thirteenth year of the reign of King Edward, Friday next after the feast of St. Wulstan." The absence of any numeral after the name of the King suggests that it may have been drawn up in 1302, and Richard of Childeston may be identified with a certain 'Richard', who was Prior of Dunster in 1301. On the other hand, the use of the French language suggests the later date, which would agree better with that of the lower part of the existing tower. Furthermore it should be observed that in 1302 the feast of St. Wulstan fell on a Friday and that in the week following there came the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, far more important in the calendar. In 1357, there was a Friday only one day after the feast of St. Wulstan. This year seems on the whole the more probable of the two.

monk who is to perform the high mass shall bless the water, and shall sprinkle it throughout the church if the Vicar be not ready to do so. The Prior, the monks, and the Vicar shall unite in one procession, after which the high mass shall be begun at the altar of St. George. There the parishioners shall make their offerings four times a year. On festivals, the Vicar may begin to say mass privately at the altar of the Holy Rood for his parishioners after the reading of the gospel at the high mass.

(2) At Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Trinity, and the feasts of St. John Baptist and Sts. Peter and Paul, the parishioners shall provide two candles (*cirges*), and the Prior a third, to burn on the altar of St. George at vespers, at matins, at the high mass, and at the second vespers, and at these festivals the parishioners shall provide candles (*chandeles*) for the choir as necessity may require. On the three days before Easter, the parishioners shall provide all the lights for the hearse (*la herte*) except the 'Judas,' which the Prior and the monks shall provide, and the parishioners shall provide candles for the choir, any remains being saved. The parishioners shall provide one half of the Paschal Candle, and the monks the other half. After the feast of the Trinity, any of the wax of the Paschal Candle remaining over shall be divided evenly between the monks and the parishioners. The parishioners shall provide a lamp to burn before the altar of St. George at night for ever, and the monks shall provide another lamp to burn there by day. For other lights, the parishioners shall give to the Prior and monks two pounds of wax at Michaelmas yearly for ever.

(3) The Prior shall repair and roof (*covera*) the tower suitably without defect, and shall receive from the parishioners 8 marks in three instalments. He

shall roof and for ever maintain (*amendera*) the chapel of Our Lady and the dorter aisle (*la ele dortur*). The parishioners shall for ever maintain the chapel of St. Leonard and the aisle between the chapel of St. Lawrence and the tower.

The terms of the agreement point to the existence of the usual rivalry between the regular and the secular clergy, the parishioners sympathising with the latter. The monks had their stalls in the chancel, or, far less probably, beneath the unfinished tower, and they had the exclusive right to use the altar of St. George for high mass, with deacon and subdeacon and music, while the vicar was restricted to saying low mass in the nave of the church. Nevertheless his was the more popular service, as shown by the monks' stipulation that the lay-folk should contribute to the offertory at their mass four times a year.

The 'hearse' mentioned above was a triangular frame for the candles used at the service called *Tenebræ* on three afternoons in Holy Week, and the 'Judas' was apparently a false candle connected therewith.[1] As it is not likely that the great Paschal Candle was to be made in two sections, we must suppose that each of the parties to the agreement was to contribute an equal amount of wax towards it, the surplus being divisible between them after it had burned for the appointed period.[2]

Proceeding to important questions with regard to the fabric of the church, the agreement presupposes that the monks were responsible for the maintenance of the chancel, and the parishioners for that of the

[1] For notices of the 'Judas', see *Archaeologia*, vol. xiv. p. 119; vol. i. p. 44; *New English Dictionary*, s. v; Fowler's *Memorials of Ripon*, vol. iii. p. 212; Wordsworth's *Medieval Services*, pp. 168-170; Feasey's *Holy Week Ceremonial*, p. 91; Micklethwaite's *Ornaments of the Rubric*, p. 53.

[2] See *Customary of St. Augustine's, Canterbury*, p. 121.

nave. Both parties were interested in the tower. In the division of liability for the rest of the church, the monks undertook the Lady Chapel and the adjoining northern transept, styled the 'dorter aisle', whence a flight of steps presumably led up to their 'dorter', or dormitory. The parishioners undertook the southern transept giving access to the chapel of St. Lawrence, which may be located to the east of it.

Whatever Richard of Childeston may have done to the tower, most of it dates only from the fifteenth century. In the heart of the north-western pier there is a spiral staircase leading from the nave to the roof. A four-centred doorway some way up on the southern side of it formerly gave access to a roodloft, or gallery, stretching across to the south-western pier. The date of this wooden structure, long since removed, is fixed by the will of William Pynsoun "citizen of Dunster," who, in 1420, bequeathed 6*s.* 8*d.* to the work of the new loft of the Holy Rood *(ad opus novi solarii Sancte Crucis)* in the church there.[1]

Below the roodloft, or rather a little eastward of it, there was the usual open screen, the former situation of which is marked by notches on the western archway of the tower. The roodloft and this screen were probably connected by a deep cove, purely ornamental, but giving an appearance of support to the upper part of the lofty structure. A screen now standing under the eastern arch of the south transept, and clearly dating from the first half of the fifteenth century, may be identified with that which was

[1] The very indifferent scholar who transcribed this will in 1716 was in the first instance unable to decipher the last of the Latin words quoted above, and afterwards guessed it to be *Trinitatis*. D.C.B. no. 16. Mr. Hancock has followed him. (*Dunster Church and Priory*, p. 14.) William Hamper, of Birmingham, who obtained possession of the original will, has fortunately given a quotation from it which is clearly more correct. (*Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxviii. p. 877.)

DUNSTER CHURCH

FROM THE SOUTH.

then set up under the western archway of the tower.

William Pynsoun mentioned above further bequeathed 40*s*. to the building of a new bell-tower and 20*s*. towards a new bell.[1] The lower stage of the tower above the roof of the church has a window of two lights on each of its four sides, and was clearly built about this period.

In 1443, the parish of Dunster resolved to complete the work, and accordingly entered into a contract with a certain John Marys of Stoke Courcy for the addition of two upper stages. According to the terms of this interesting document written in English, the tower was to be a hundred feet high above the 'gras-tabyl' or plinth. There were to be three 'French' buttresses, that is to say angle-buttresses 'fining,' or diminishing, at the 'water-table,' or string-course, and three 'gargylles,' one at each angle. In the fourth angle there was to be a 'vice,' or spiral staircase. The top of the tower was to be adorned with a 'batylment' and four 'pynacles,' one of which was to be placed 'upon the vice, after reson and gode proportion.' On the first new stage, called 'the first flore,' there were to be two windows, one on the north side and the other on the south, each of one 'day,' or light, with four 'genelas,' or cusps. At the 'bell-bed' there were to be four windows, each of two 'days' separated by a 'moynell' or mullion, and further divided horizontally by a 'trawnsom' designed by a freemason named Richard Pope. The main walls to be built by Marys were to be 4 feet thick up to the 'bell-bed' and 3 feet 6 inches thick above. The parish undertook to provide all the material and the necessary appliances, such as 'ropes, poleys, winchchys' and the like, and to pay

[1] D.C.B. no. 16.

Marys 13*s.* 4*d.* per foot for 'workemanchyppe,' with 20*s.* extra for carving the pinnacles.' He had apparently only one or two assistants, and he was allowed three years for the completion of the work.[1]

The absence in this elaborate contract of any allusion to the lower stage of the tower may fairly be taken to show that it was already in existence. On the other hand the reference to the 'gras-tabyl' as a level from which measurements could be taken is worthy of notice.

Both the transepts appear to have been rebuilt or altered shortly after the completion of the tower. The southern one, being visible from the town, is the more ornamented of the two, and has on the outside a canopied niche on either side of a large window over the door. The north-eastern chapel, presumably the Lady Chapel, must also have been rebuilt in the middle of the fifteenth century, the arch which connects it with the northern transept being purer in style than most of the Perpendicular work in the church. About the same time, a large window was inserted in the eastern wall of the chancel and another over the western door. The chapel of St. Lawrence on the east side of the southern transept seems to have been enlarged and rebuilt in the later part of the fifteenth century. The octagonal font in the nave seems also to date from the same period.

One remarkable fact in connexion with the contract of 1443 is that it contains no reference whatever to the Prior and Convent of Dunster. The monks had apparently relaxed their interest in the western part of the church. A will of John Batelyn of Dunster,

[1] *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxviii, p. 217, from D.C.B. no. 15. The walls of the clockchamber are 4 feet thick, thus corresponding with those of the first stage to be built by Marys. Those of the lower and earlier stage are 6 inches thicker, and the arches that carry the tower are 4 feet 9 inches thick.

made in 1420, is interesting as bequeathing a pair of silver cruets apiece to the high altar, the parochial altar, and the altar of St. Lawrence.[1] We may fairly infer that these were the altars at which he was wont to worship on particular days or at particular hours. The 'parochial altar' was presumably that of the Holy Rood mentioned in the formal agreement of the previous century. In the ordinary course, the high altar was served by a monk, the parochial altar by the Vicar, and the altar of St. Lawrence by its own chaplain. The altar of Our Lady had no special priest attached to it, and was probably served by one of the monks.

Later in the fifteenth century, a chantry was founded at the altar of the Holy Trinity, which is described vaguely as situate "in the parochial church of Dunster." Its exact position there is not defined. The founders of it appear to have been Henry Frank and Christina his wife, and William Cadman *alias* Clerke and Alice his wife. Some of the original trustees had died before 1491, when the survivors assigned the endowments to a secular chaplain named Richard Baker for the term of his life. His primary duty was to celebrate mass daily for the founders and the trustees at the altar of the Holy Trinity, but he was also bound to assist "in the choir" of the "parochial church" on Sundays and holy days "with the other priests," presumably the monks, and the chaplain of the chantry of St. Lawrence.[2]

In the reign of Henry the Seventh, the Prior and Convent of Bath applied to the Lord Privy Seal for remedy of certain wrongs which, they said, had been done to their brethren at Dunster. Their main grievances were :—

[1] D.C.M. VIII. 2.

[2] D.C.B. no. 94. The version of this document in Mr. Hancock's book (p. 15. is unfortunate.

(1) That, whereas the Prior had been wont to receive a fee of 6*s.* 8*d.* "for breking of the grounde" in the church "for every sepulture there made," certain persons had taken upon themselves "to breke the said grounde" without his "licence or favour," and without payment to him.

(2) That the parishioners had caused holy water to be "halowed within the bodie of the churche, contrarie to tholde custome and to there composicion."

(3) That they had withdrawn their customary offerings to the Prior "at wedynges and at buryynges, as was wele shewd at the buryyng of the modre of Maistir Loty, gentilman."

(4) That they would not suffer any citation or privy seal "to be executed there within a certeyn brigge."

(5) That "to fulfill and satisfie theire croked appetites, thei toke up the bell roopis and said that the Priour and Convent there shuld have no bellis there to ryng."

The principal persons banded together were stated to be "Sir William Harries, vicary there, wiche hathe cure of there soules, and shuld move and councell them to be of better condicions to Goddes pleasure," but who "contrary to his dewtie comfortethe them in theire ill doinges and wulnot that they shuld be refourmed to a better and a more godlie way; Thomas Upcote, merchaunt; Thomas Kodogon, yeoman; John Withur, baker; Adam Wilkyns, clothemaker; William Crasse, bocher; Symond Pers, yoman; John Greyme, yoman; John Philippis, tanner; John Paynter, barbour; John Morgan, parker; Martyn Glover."[1]

No answer on behalf of these persons has been preserved. We may, however, reasonably suppose

[1] Star Chamber Proceedings, Hen. VII. no. 122.

them to have contended that the complainants had no concern with weddings, funerals, and other services conducted by the Vicar in the body of the church, that is to say in the part lying to the west of the chancel in which the monks had their stalls and said their offices. With regard to the bells, it has been seen already that the upper part of the central tower in which they hung had been built at the cost of the parish, and that the staircase leading up to them was accessible only from the nave.

There seems to be some error as to the Christian name of the chief offender. A certain Richard Harris was Vicar of Dunster from 1485 to 1494; William Harris, clerk, who is mentioned in a local court-roll of 1509, was probably one of the chantry priests.[1] It may be noted by the way that Thomas Upcot, Thomas Codogan, yeoman of the Crown, an ancestor of Earl Cadogan, Simon Pers and John Gryme alike left money to the Prior of Dunster by wills proved in the earlier years of the sixteenth century.[2] John Wyther the baker, their associate, is commemorated by a brass in the church bearing the following inscription :—

Of your charite pray for the soules of John Wyther et Agnes his wyf et John Wyther their eldest sone, whose bodys restyeth under this stone anno domini millesimo cccclxxxvij penultimo die Septembris expectando generalem resurrecconem mortuorum et vitam eternam, amen.

Above this are the figures of a man and a woman.[3]

[1] D.C.M. XIII. 3.

[2] *Somerset Medieval Wills*, vol. ii. pp. 60, 139, 158, 175.

[3] Haines thinks that the figures were not engraved until about 1520, and suggests a doubt whether the inscription refers to them. *Manual of Monumental Brasses*, vol. ii. p. 179. See the cuts of them on the next page. John Wyther was amerced 20*d.* in 1448 for buying corn in Dunster market before 9 o'clock. D.M.C. XII. 3. John Wyther the younger made his will in 1532. Weaver's *Wells Wills*, p. 72.

Fresh disputes between the monks and the lay-folk arose ere long, and it was eventually agreed to refer the questions at issue to arbitration. On the one side were the Prior and Convent of the cathedral church of Bath, impropriators of the church of

JOHN WYTHER

AGNES WYTHER

Dunster, and Dan Thomas Browne and the Convent of the cell of Dunster, who are explicitly described as removeable at the pleasure of the superior authority. On the other side were William Bond, Vicar of the parish church of Dunster, and Sir Hugh Lut-

trell, the representative of the inhabitants of the town. The three arbitrators chosen were Richard, Abbot of Glastonbury, Thomas Tremayle, one of the king's justices, and Thomas Gilbert, a doctor of canon law.[1] By their means an agreement was made at Glastonbury on the 4th of April 1498 and ratified by the five seals of the Prior and Convent of Bath, the Prior and Convent of Dunster, the Vicar of Dunster, Sir Hugh Luttrell, and the parish of Dunster. The terms, set out at considerable length in legal phraseology, were to the following effect :—

(1) That the Vicar, renouncing all previous endowments, should receive from the Prior of Dunster an allowance of 8*l.* a year, paid quarterly, and should continue to occupy the house in which he then lived, upon condition of keeping it in repair, and, if necessary, of rebuilding it.

(2) That the Vicar should have all offerings made by devout lay folk for the celebration of obits, trentals, anniversaries, private masses, and prayers, known as "the bederaele penys," the Prior and Convent continuing to receive other ecclesiastical payments due to them as impropriators of the church.

(3) That the Vicar should have a choir independent (*separatum*) of the Prior and monks, to be made and maintained at the cost of the parishioners "in the nave of the church, that is to say at the altar of St. James the Apostle, which is situate on the south side of the door (*hostium*) which leads from the choir of the monks into the nave of the church."

(4) That in this choir the Vicar, having the cure of souls, should, without interference on the part of the Prior and monks, administer the sacraments and

[1] Thomas Tremayle was the owner of 8½ burgages in Dunster. He died in 1509. D.C.M. XIII. 3.

celebrate sacramentals, to wit the hallowing of water, bread, candles at the Purification, ashes on the first Wednesday in Lent, flowers and boughs, and the consecration of fonts, receiving the customary offerings on behalf of the Prior and monks.

(5) That the Vicar and the parishioners should be free to make processions from their choir in the church or in the graveyard on any day of the year except on thirteen important festivals, to wit those of Christmas, Epiphany, Palm Sunday, Easter, Ascension Day, Whitsunday, Trinity Sunday, Corpus Christi, the Purification, St. George, the Assumption, All Saints, and the Dedication of the Church, on each of which there was to be a joint procession in the church or in the graveyard according to season and weather. On these days, the little band of monks "coming through the middle of their own choir" was to be met by the rest of the congregation as they began to issue through (*egredi*) "the door (*hostium*) on the north side" of the new parochial choir. Then the bearer of the monks' cross and the bearer of the parish cross were to walk side by side, followed by the clerks, the Vicar, the monks, the Prior and the lay folk. On their return, the two bodies were to separate at "the same door," the monks passing through (*ingredientibus*) it and the Vicar and his clerks returning to their choir, to finish divine service.[1]

Under this new system, the parishioners were released from any obligation to attend mass in the chancel, and the Vicar was empowered to celebrate high mass in the western part of the church, even on the principal festivals of the ecclesiastical year.

The arrangements made by the arbitrators of 1498 were materially altered a few years later. By an

[1] Register of Bishop King, f. 45.

ordinance issued in 1512, Cardinal Hadrian de Castello, Bishop of Bath and Wells, reduced the yearly stipend of the Vicar of Dunster from 8*l.* to 4*l.* On the other hand he decreed that the Vicar should receive free meals in the monastic refectory, sitting at table below the Prior and brethren, but sharing in their food and in the refreshments provided by the fireside in the winter evenings. He also assigned to the Vicar a small meadow, a rent of 2*s.* from a fulling-mill and the rent of the former vicarage, the Prior being required to provide for him a room adjoining the graveyard. Furthermore the payments made by the lay-folk for the publication of the 'Bedrolle' after the Gospel at high mass, and the offerings made by them when going to confession in Lent, were specifically made over to the Vicar.[1]

The award of 1498 had important and lasting effects upon the church of Dunster, the parishioners soon proceeding to remodel all the western part of it in order to suit their new requirements. There is reason to believe that, in the early part of the sixteenth century, they lowered the Norman walls of the nave, connecting them with a new wooden roof, and that they built, or rebuilt, an aisle on either side.

In 1504, Thomas Upcot of Dunster bequeathed ten tons of iron to the fabric of the church of St. George, "that is to the new aisle there to be built or repaired on the north side," on condition that the work should be undertaken within three years.[2] The use of the word 'repair' seems to indicate that there was already an adjunct to the nave on this side. In any case it is not likely that the monks would have allowed the parishioners to encroach upon their ground for an

[1] Register of Bishop Hadrian, f. 104. p. 60.
[2] *Somerset Medieval Wills*, vol. ii.

extension of the church. As reconstructed, the northern aisle is separated from the eastern part of the old nave by four Perpendicular arches resting on three pillars with capitals of an ordinary type. A debased capital to the eastern respond testifies to the lateness of the work. The aisle is lighted by a window in its western wall, and four windows in the northern wall, the latter not uniform in size. At its eastern end the aisle communicates with the northern transept.

In 1509, John Gryme of Frackford bequeathed a considerable sum to the fabric of Dunster Church, and, some eight year later, his relict followed his example, while specifically limiting her bequest to the repair of the aisle of the Holy Trinity.[1] A document of the year 1537, written during the short period when there were two distinct churches under one roof, describes the chantry of the Holy Trinity as being in the 'parochial' church of Dunster, and so presumably in the non-monastic section.[2] It may thus be located either on the northern or on the southern side of the nave. In the reign of Edward the Sixth, there is mention of the Chantry of the Trinity or St. George, which may have got its second dedication after the exclusion of the laity from the chancel containing the original altar of St. George.[3]

It has been seen that the award of 1498 directed the Vicar and parishioners to make a new choir in the nave of the church at the altar of St. James, which must have stood against the south-western pier of the tower, parallel with the altar of the Holy Rood standing against the north-western pier. In order to do this they set up a very handsome oaken screen of

[1] *Somerset Medieval Wills*, vol. ii. pp. 139, 193.

[2] D.C.B. no. 17.

[3] *Somerset Chantries* (S.R.S.), p. 221.

DUNSTER CHURCH.

INTERIOR.

fifteen unequal compartments stretching, like others in this county, right across the building, and surmounted by a loft or gallery. A small head of St. James may still be seen in one of its spandrels facing westward. There are three pairs of doors in this screen, one opposite to the centre of the north aisle, the second opposite to the centre of the nave, and the third approximately opposite to the centre of the south aisle. Over the middle pair of doors the gallery projects eastward, and it has been suggested that the additional space there provided was intended for an organ.[1] On the other hand it is possible that, on the completion of the screen in the early part of the sixteenth century, the great rood was removed to it from its former position on a beam between the two western piers of the tower.

The gallery over the new screen was formerly approached by a spiral staircase in a turret which projects into the churchyard from the outer wall of the south aisle. Between this turret and the western wall of the transept there are three windows differing in size, in design, and in date. Internally the south aisle is separated from the nave by six arches somewhat similar to the four arches on the north side, but not opposite to them. If the southern arcade had been made to correspond with the northern, the central part of the gallery over the screen would have been difficult of access.

In the four western bays of the southern aisle, there is some attempt at symmetry of plan, but even there the work shows signs of haste. A flat wooden roof divided into panels and enriched with carving fits the aisle badly, having no wall-plate on the north or on the south. On the whole it seems probable that

[1] *Proceedings of the Somerset Archæological Society*, vol. lii. p. 66.

both the aisles were largely composed of old materials put together without much skill. Fragments of round shafts, possibly relics of a Norman clerestory to the nave, may be recognised in the south wall, and the stonework of several windows may have come from demolished chapels of the fifteenth century. The debased capital of the eastern respond of the southern arcade, inscribed with the letter 'M', is obviously later than the other capitals in line with it. The south porch may be ascribed to the reign of Henry the Eighth, or even to that of James the First.

In no less than nine wills executed by inhabitants of Dunster between the years 1531 and 1534, there are legacies to "the four lights" in the parish church.[1] Other wills refer to one or more of them by name, and three wills executed between the years 1509 and 1517 specify their respective dedications:—

The Light of St. George, the original patron of the undivided church.

The Light of Our Lady.

The Light of the Holy Rood, called also the Light of the High Cross.

The Dead Light, called also the Light of Devotion.[2] It may be further identified with the Light of 'Wexsilver' which is mentioned in the will of Ralph of Cogston, executed in 1348.[3] In some parishes of Somerset, a similar light was called the light of All Souls.[4]

In 1510, there was a Light of St. Leonard in the Priory Church of Dunster, presumably in the monastic section, whereas those of Our Lady and St. George are

[1] Weaver's *Wells Wills*, pp. 76-80.
[2] *Somerset Medieval Wills*, vol. ii. pp. 131, 158, 175, 180, 193.
[3] D.C.B. no. 11.
[4] Weaver's *Wells Wills*, p. vii.

distinctly stated at the same time to have been in the parochial section, as were indeed the other two.[1]

An image of St. Christopher is mentioned in 1419, but its position is not defined.[2]

The Benedictine monks of Dunster were ejected in the early part of 1539, their Prior having signed the deed of surrender in company with the Prior, the Sub-prior and the other monks of the mother house at Bath. No inventory has been preserved of the furniture, ornaments and books found in the Priory, but it would be possible to trace in detail the subsequent history of its more valuable possessions. The endowments were in the first instance divided into three sections and committed to laymen, to be made profitable to the Crown. One section, consisting entirely of temporalities, comprised the manor of Alcombe and various lands in the parishes of Dunster and Cutcombe that had been let out to farmers. A second section, consisting entirely of spiritualities, was limited to the rectory of Carhampton. The remaining section, consisting partly of temporalities and partly of spiritualities, is the only one of which it is proposed to treat in this place. It comprised the site of the Priory, with its demesnes and the rectories of Dunster and Kilton, all of which were committed to John Luttrell, a younger brother of Sir Andrew Luttrell of Dunster Castle, then lately deceased.[3]

After rendering an account at Michaelmas 1539, which was duly examined, John Luttrell obtained from the Crown a definite lease of the premises for

[1] *Somerset Medieval Wills*, vol. ii. p. 142.

[2] D.C.B. no. 16. There is a longer list of lights in Hancock's *Dunster Church and Priory* (p. 39), but several of those mentioned there were actually at Carhampton. It is also very doubtful whether there was ever "a chantry of S. John attached to Dunster Church" as stated there (p. 17). At any rate one of the two quotations given in support of the theory refers neither to the Baptist nor to the Evangelist of that name, but to the lord of the neighbouring manor of Luccombe.

[3] Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. iv. p. 202.

twenty-one years, at a rent exactly corresponding with the nett revenue shown in that account, the whole amounting to 13*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* Out of this amount 3*l.* were payable in respect of the rectory of Kilton, concerning which nothing further need be said here. The other two sub-sections may be considered separately.

Under the terms of the lease dated 28 October 1539, John Luttrell was to pay 3*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly for "the site of the late house, or priory, or cell, of Dunster now dissolved, with all houses, buildings, barns, yards, orchards, gardens, land and ground within the precinct of the same," land called Waglondes, a close under 'le Conynger,' a close above the highway, a close at the head of the same, and lands called Le Dene, Hyllyberes, Lower Hillebouer, Alger, Gillechappell, Clerkelome, Foxgrove, Lynche, les Hams, Awcombe Meade, and Birchehame, all situate in Dunster and recently in the occupation of the Prior. The Crown reserved all large trees growing on the property thus demised, but undertook to provide timber sufficient for necessary repairs.[1] It may fairly be presumed that the lessee saw his way to getting somewhat more out of the land than it was yielding when he first entered upon it. Furthermore, he got the empty buildings of the Priory, on the north side of the church, as a residence for himself and his family.

Although the confiscated monastic property yielded a considerable revenue, the Crown was generally willing to sell outright, a lump sum of money in hand being preferred to a rent, however regular. Thus, when a very small part of John Luttrell's term had expired, the King, in March 1543, arranged to

[1] Augmentation Office, Miscellaneous Books, 212, ff 2*d.*, 3.

sell the rent and also the reversion of the Priory and demesnes of Dunster. The purchaser was Humphrey Colles, gentleman, who undertook to pay close upon a thousand pounds, a very large sum at that time, for these and other former monastic possessions in the west of England. The property at Dunster conveyed to him was that specified in the lease of 1539, the only reservation to the Crown being a rent of 7*s.* 4*d.*, which was exactly a tenth of the rent payable by John Luttrell.[1]

An examination of the proceedings of Humphrey Colles, after the issue of letters patent in his favour, makes it perfectly clear that in most cases he was merely an agent for persons who thought that they could purchase monastic property on better terms through him than in their own names. Each of the principals got his or her pre-arranged share. Within a few days of the date of the grant to Colles, he obtained licence to transfer his rights at Dunster to Dame Margaret Luttrell, the relict of Sir Andrew and the mother of the actual lord of Dunster.[2]

Thenceforward John Luttrell rendered no account to the Court of Augmentations of the rent payable by him for the site and the demesnes of the Priory, debiting himself only with 7*s.* 4*d.* a year described as 'tithe,' payable to the Crown and of course deducted by him from the rent which he paid to his sister-in-law.[3]

Lady Luttrell presumably obtained actual possession of the Priory in 1560. Under a settlement effected by her, and under her will, it passed at her death to her grandson George Luttrell, and it has ever since

[1] Patent Roll, 34 Hen. VIII. part 11, m. 19.

[2] *Ibid.* part 2, m. 19; D.C.M. XVI. 10. Colles may have been a solicitor. He was party to a fine for the settlement of Lady Luttrell's dower in 1542.

[3] Ministers' Accounts, Hen. VIII. nos. 3148-3150.

been regarded as an integral part of the Luttrell estate.[1] After the determination of John Luttrell's lease, the duty of collecting the rent of 7*s.* 4*d.* was transferred to the Sheriff.

Reverting now to the year 1539, it is necessary to trace briefly the subsequent history of the rectory of Dunster as distinguished from the Priory and its lands. The lease of that year assigned to John Luttrell for twenty-one years the tithes of sheaves, wool and lambs, and all other small tithes of Avill, Ellicombe, Alcombe, Staunton and Medyet, of the demesne lands of Minehead, Lophall (*sic*), Skyllacre, and Dunster fields, and of the mill of Dunster, the Lordesfeld, and Exford. The rent for these was fixed at 7*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*, being the nett amount which they had yielded in the previous year, when John Luttrell was merely agent for the Crown. The lessee was, moreover, made responsible for the payment of a salary of 8*l.* to the Vicar of Dunster, and 10*s.* 9*d.* yearly to the Archdeacon of Taunton for procurations and synodals.[2] The Crown remained liable for all other expenses incident to an impropriate rectory.

Early in the reign of Edward the Sixth, a certain Nicholas Gravener made overtures for the purchase of the reversion of the rectory of Dunster, but the negotiation came to nothing, and, after surrender of the subsisting lease and payment of a fine, John Luttrell obtained a fresh lease for twenty-one years, to run from 1552.[3] He died six years later, and it would appear that his relict Elizabeth eventually parted with her interest in the unexpired term of the lease.

In 1560, the rectory and the tithes, or rather the

[1] D.C.M. XVI. 11, 17; Patent Roll, 16 Eliz. part 12; Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi. p. 15.

[2] Augmentation Office, Miscellaneous Books, 212. ff. 2*d.*, 3.

[3] Augmentation Office, Particulars for Grants, file 1645; Miscellaneous Books, 224, f. 144*d.*

reversions of them, were sold by the Crown to John Fytz, esquire, and George Fytz his brother.[1] The purchasers were lawyers of the Inner Temple, and there is no reason to suppose that they had any idea of retaining the tithes of the parish in the extreme west of Somerset. Like Humphrey Colles, they were probably intermediaries. Within a few months of the grant to them, George Sydenham and Elizabeth his wife conveyed to Hugh Stewkley, gentleman, various houses, barns, orchards, lands and rents in Dunster, Carhampton, Minehead and Exford, common of pasture in Dunster, and also the rectory of Dunster, with tithes of sheaves, hay, wool, and lambs and all other small tithes. By the fine levied for this purpose, they warranted the premises against themselves and their heirs, and against John and George Fytz and their heirs.[2]

Hugh Stewkley must have purchased the remainder of John Luttrell's lease in or before 1566, for in October of that year, fourteen of the inhabitants of Dunster, on behalf of the town and borough, issued a public manifesto against him :—

"We of the foresaid towne and borough of Dunster have in oure churche ben verie well and orderlie served with suche devine service as ought to be, untill that here of late one Master Hewgh Stuclie, gentilman, pourchased of oure sovereyne ladie the Quine the personage of the same, being not so lytill worthe as one hunderethe marks by the yeare, to the whiche all tythes and other duties of the churche are solie paied, and nothing reserved or allowed for the fyndinge of a curat to serve the cure but onlie eight poundes being paied out of the saide personage, which pention is not sufficient for the mayntenennce of a curat, so that by the same means the cure of Dunster aforesaide, being the hed churche of the Denerie and having heretofore thre curates

[1] Patent Roll, 2 Eliz. part 5, m. 41. Eliz.
[2] Feet of Fines, Somerset, Trinity, 3

continuallie therein serving, is now altogether unserved, to the infringinge of the Quine's majestie's prosedinge and great disquiet of us her lovinge subjects."[1]

The three curates mentioned above must have been the Vicar and the chaplains of the chantries of St. Lawrence and the Holy Trinity, these chaplains being the spiritual pastors of their respective guilds. In 1509, John Gryme of Frackford in Dunster describes a certain Sir John Holcomb, who was not Vicar of the parish, as his confessor and "curate" there.[2]

Since the suppression of the chantries in the reign of Edward the Sixth, there had never been more than one resident priest, and it seems doubtful whether any one had received a definite appointment there since the death of John Ryce, the Vicar, in 1561. The Prior and Convent of Bath had in previous centuries presented successive Vicars designate of Dunster to the Bishop for institution as to a benefice. After the suppression of the monasteries, however, it was held that such procedure was unnecessary in this case. No part of the tithes had been assigned to the Vicar; there was no house for him, and hardly any endowment. Under these circumstances, the Vicarage was suppressed, the lay impropriator being obliged to provide a stipendiary curate, not requiring institution and removeable at his pleasure.

Hugh Stewkley's answer to the remonstrance of 1566 has not been preserved, but he may well have disputed the assertion that the rectory was worth over a hundred marks a year. It had been valued at 17*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* gross in 1535, when the Vicar's salary absorbed 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* and at 7*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.* nett in 1539 when

[1] D.C.M. XIV. 14. p. 139.
[2] *Somerset Medieval Wills*, vol. ii.

the Vicar's salary had been raised to 8*l.* because he no longer received free food at the Priory.[1]

Hugh Stewkley was never backward in asserting his rights as lay rector. His son-in-law, George Luttrell, had not long come of age when he presented him with a list of the dues that he claimed from him :—

(1) Agistment of Dunster Park for all cattle feeding there, and the shoulder of every deer killed, on the ground that the South Lawn had been under cultivation at the end of the reign of Henry the Eighth.

(2) Agistment of the Park at the rate of a penny in the shilling on its value.

(3) Tithe of the bailiff of Dunster, the keeper of the park, and all servants, at the rate of a penny in the shilling on half of their wages.

(4) Agistment of Dunster mills at the rate of a penny in the shilling on the rental.

(5) Agistment of the Waterlete and Caremore (near the sea). A fee of 53*s.* 4*d.* for the stewardship of the lands late of Sir John Luttrell, out of the manor of Dunster.

(6) Tithe of conies in the warren, and of the demesne lands of the manor of Minehead between the Whitehouse and Minehead Lane, near the sea.

He also took the opportunity of asserting that three houses in the churchyard belonged to him as parson.[2]

It does not appear how many of these claims were eventually admitted. In actual practice, some of the tithes due to the impropriator from the Luttrell demesnes were set off against burgage rents due from him as a freeholder to the lord of the manor. In 1728 "the *modus* due to Sir Hugh Stewkley's heirs for Dunster Hanger" amounted to 15*s.*

[1] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. i. p. 220. [2] D.C.M. XIV. 6.

A return of the year 1634 "concerning the custome of our parish," subscribed by the Curate, the Churchwardens and the sidesmen, shows the scales on which dues were levied for the lay rector :—

"For offerings, 2*d.*, both men and women.
For servants, 2*d.* apiece.
For corne, we tythe by the tenth stitch and for odde stitches one sheaf of a stitch.
For the tythe hay, we tythe by the pook or cock, the tenth pook at the first taking up.
For kine, 2*d.*
For a summer cow, 2*d.*
For a winter cow, 1*d.*
For a heifer, 1*d.*
For calves sold to the butcher, 1*a.* of 1*s.*
For store calves, ½*d.*
For a garden, 1*d.*
For wooll, the tenth in kind.
For lambs, the tenth, and for odde lambs ½*d.* apiece for the fall.
For apples, the tenth.
For piggs, the tenth at three weeks or before.
For weddings 10*d.*
For churchings 4*d.*
For hopps, the tenth.
For honey, the tenth."

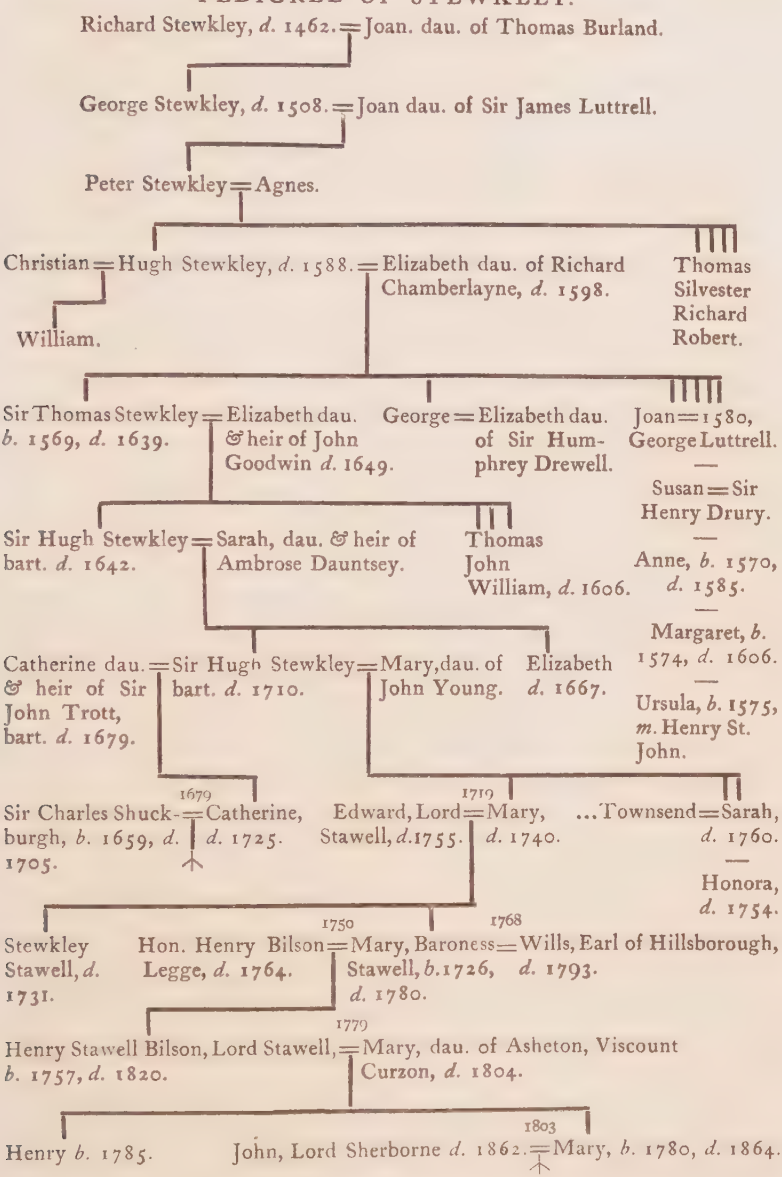
While Stewkley was receiving these spiritualities as lay rector, the poor curate in charge of the parish fared badly :—

"We have had no vicaridge, neither hath there been any this many years.

"There is a little garden containing one yeard of ground or near thereabout. Sir George Speke's land lyeth on the west end, and the widow Foxe's land lyeth on the east ende, and the churchyeard on the north side, and the highway on the south side adjoyning.

"There is one meadow containing three yards of ground or near thereabout lying near the Castle on the east side and a river of water on the other side.

PEDIGREE OF STEWKLEY.[1]


Richard Stewkley, d. 1462. = Joan. dau. of Thomas Burland.
George Stewkley, d. 1508. = Joan dau. of Sir James Luttrell.
Peter Stewkley = Agnes.
Christian = Hugh Stewkley, d. 1588. = Elizabeth dau. of Richard Chamberlayne, d. 1598.
Thomas
Silvester
Richard
Robert.
William.
Sir Thomas Stewkley b. 1569, d. 1639. = Elizabeth dau. & heir of John Goodwin d. 1649.
George = Elizabeth dau. of Sir Humphrey Drewell.
Joan = 1580, George Luttrell.
Susan = Sir Henry Drury.
Anne, b. 1570, d. 1585.
Margaret, b. 1574, d. 1606.
Ursula, b. 1575, m. Henry St. John.
Sir Hugh Stewkley bart. d. 1642. = Sarah, dau. & heir of Ambrose Dauntsey.
Thomas
John
William, d. 1606.
Catherine dau. & heir of Sir John Trott, bart. d. 1679. = Sir Hugh Stewkley bart. d. 1710. = Mary, dau. of John Young.
Elizabeth d. 1667.
1679
Sir Charles Shuckburgh, b. 1659, d. 1705. = Catherine, d. 1725.
1719
Edward, Lord Stawell, d. 1755. = Mary, d. 1740.
...Townsend = Sarah, d. 1760.
Honora, d. 1754.
Stewkley Stawell, d. 1731.
Hon. Henry Bilson Legge, d. 1764.
1750
Mary, Baroness Stawell, b. 1726, d. 1780. = Wills, Earl of Hillsborough, d. 1793.
1768
1779
Henry Stawell Bilson, Lord Stawell, b. 1757, d. 1820. = Mary, dau. of Asheton, Viscount Curzon, d. 1804.
Henry b. 1785.
John, Lord Sherborne d. 1862. = Mary, b. 1780, d. 1864.
1803

[1] D.C.M. XII. 4; XIII. 7, 10; Inq. post mortem, C. II. 220, no. 74; *Visitations of Somerset*, p. 80; Berry's *Hampshire Genealogies*, p. 310; Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. i, pp. 79-81; *Somerset & Dorset Notes & Queries*, vol. iv, p. 257; Exchequer Depositions by Commission, 10 Will. III; Collins's *Peerage*; Epitaphs at Hinton Ampner.

"The Minister hath eight pounds per annum, beside the aforesaid meadow and garden, and not anything else."[1]

From the Curate's point of view, the only redeeming feature of the case was that, as Dunster was not accounted an ecclesiastical benefice, he was free to hold another church without dispensation. In course of time, various small additions were made to the emoluments of the Curate. Thus, in the middle of the eighteenth century, Queen Anne's Bounty provided 400*l.*, Mrs. Pyncombe's Charity 100*l.*, and Mrs. Sarah Townsend, daughter of Sir Hugh Stewkley, 100*l.*, towards a permanent endowment. Thenceforward the Curate ceased to be removeable at pleasure.[2] There is no record of the exact date at which the pittance provided by the lay impropriator was raised from 8*l.* to 20*l.* In a valuation of Lord Stawell's estates in Dunster and Minehead made in 1789, there are deductions of 20*l.* for "the Curate's stipend" and 12*s.* 6*d.* for "payments to the Bishop and Archdeacon." In ordinary parlance, the Curate was often styled the Vicar, but he had no official residence.

The rectory continued in the possession of descendants of Hugh Stewkley until about 1790, when Lord Stawell sold it, with his farm at Marsh and various scattered pieces of land, to John Fownes Luttrell of Dunster Castle for the sum of 5,000*l.*

A brass in Dunster Church in memory of the Rev. George Henry Leigh, who died in 1821, states somewhat inaccurately that he had been Perpetual Curate of the parish "upwards of fifty years." From 1800 to 1805, he was also one of the churchwardens. During the last four years of his life, he was assisted by Thomas Fownes Luttrell, who succeeded him, and who altogether served the cure for some fifty-five

[1] D.C.B. f. 62*b*.

[2] 1 Geo. I. st. 2. c. 10

years. Unlike his predecessors for nearly three centuries, Thomas Fownes Luttrell, being presented to the Bishop by the trustees of his brother's estate, was formally instituted to the living. He resided at the Castle until a short time before his death.

In 1872, arrangements were made for establishing the vicarage of Dunster upon a suitable footing. Mr. Luttrell, having built a permanent residence for the clergyman in a charming situation on the Priory Green, handed it over to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who, in consideration of this, increased the value of the benefice. Mr. Luttrell also transferred such of the great tithes as had not merged in fixed rents, receiving in exchange some pieces of glebe scattered in several parishes.

Reverting again to the reign of Henry the Eighth, it is more interesting to endeavour to trace the effect of the ecclesiastical changes upon the fabric of the church of Dunster. The first result of the expulsion of the Benedictine monks in 1539 was that the parishioners recovered their rights in the old chancel. This is a fact which has been too often overlooked. The late Mr. Freeman was wont to refer to Dunster as a typical place where there were two churches under one roof, the eastern church monastic and the western church parochial. Many instances have been cited to show that lay grantees of the sites of suppressed monasteries and colleges had the right to secularize and even to demolish buildings which, from the architectural point of view, formed integral parts of parochial churches. Even in recent years, the chancel of the church at Arundel has been adjudged to be the private property of the Duke of Norfolk. In view, however, of documentary evidence that was not known to Mr. Freeman, some

caution must be observed in reading what he has written upon this subject. [1]

It is difficult to say what would have happened at Dunster if John Luttrell had wished to secularize the non-parochial part of the divided church. He might have contended with force that the chancel, having been adjudged to the monks in 1498, was legally one of the conventual buildings, like the tithe-barn and the dovecot. On the other hand the parishioners had rights in the southern transept, and in the central tower which they had built in the previous century. They seem also to have had rights in the chapel on the eastern side of the southern transept. Furthermore it is necessary to observe that even if the whole eastern part of the church had belonged to the monks, John Luttrell could not have pulled it down, as he was never the owner of the Priory. For the first year after the Dissolution, he was merely an agent of the Crown, and afterwards he was a lessee.

In point of fact there were good reasons why John Luttrell should not claim rights in the chancel at Dunster more extensive than those which he had in the chancel at Kilton, the rights that is to say of the representative of the lay rector. Whatever his theological views may have been, he could hardly have wished to desecrate wantonly a building in which his grandmother and other ancestors lay buried. Furthermore, the final separation of the monastic church from the parochial was comparatively recent. Many of the lay-folk living in 1539 could remember the time when they were not wholly excluded from the chancel, and we may readily credit them with a desire to recover their ancient rights: notwithstanding all

[1] *English Towns and Districts*, pp. 348-350; *Proceedings of the Somerset Archæological Society*, vol. vi. pp. 1-13.

changes, the original high altar of the undivided church had a special sanctity. Private sentiment and local opinion might alike be gratified by the opening of the gates of the screen under the tower.

John Leland, the observant antiquary, who visited Dunster within seven years of the dissolution of the monasteries, has left an instructive statement as to the position of ecclesiastical affairs there :—

"The hole chirch of the late Priory servith now for the paroche chirch. Aforetymes the monks had the est part closid up to their use." [1]

Nothing could be clearer or more positive. Leland's personal observations are moreover confirmed by the accounts which John Luttrell, as lessee of the rectory, rendered year after year to the Court of Augmentations. In 1540, he claimed allowance of 32*s.* 10*d.* spent by him on the repair of ruinous cottages at Alcombe and of the chancel of the church of that place, which was in the parish of Dunster. In the following year, he claimed allowance of 59*s.* for repairs at Dunster, specifically to the chief mansion of the manor—that is to say to the Priory in which he lived—and to the window of the chancel of the church, obviously the great Perpendicular window over the high altar.

After the sale by the Crown of John Luttrell's rent of 3*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for the site of the Priory, with the reversion of the premises on the expiration of his lease, there are of course no further charges for the repair of them in the accounts which he rendered to the Court : from 1543 onwards the purchaser, Lady Luttrell, was responsible for all necessary expenses incurred by him as her tenant. In 1546,

[1] *Itinerary* (1907), p. 166.

however, he claimed allowance of 3*s.* 5*d.* from the Crown for repairs to the chancel of the church of Dunster, "very ruinous," and similar claims of varying amounts were allowed by the auditors in each of the three following years. Clearly therefore the chancel was regarded as an integral part of the church rather than as part of the monastic buildings.

In order to realize the position at this period, it is necessary to remember that, although the monks had been expelled, and the papal supremacy renounced, the services of the church were conducted very much as before. The various altars were still in use. Under the award of 1498, the parishioners of Dunster were still responsible for the maintenance and repair of the whole of the church on the western side of the tower. The King, however, had become the lay rector, and, as such, responsible for the maintenance and repair of the architectural chancel. Year after year, his representative, John Luttrell, provided the bread, wine, and wax necessary for the celebration of masses in the churches of Dunster and Kilton, the usual charge being 6*s.* 8*d.* for the former church and 2*s.* for the latter.

In consequence of the ecclesiastical changes under Edward the Sixth, no wax was provided after 1550, and in that year the allowance for bread and wine was reduced to 1*s.* 8*d.* at Dunster and at Kilton alike. When, in 1548, a large Bible and a copy of the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus were bought for the church, one half of the cost was borne by the parishioners and the other half by the King as rector or patron, in accordance with the royal injunctions.[1]

There is no record of the exact date in the middle of the sixteenth century at which side altars, cruci-

[1] Ministers' Accounts.

fixes, images and the like were removed from the church of Dunster. One very ancient altar-slab was suffered to remain in its original position in the little sacristy on the northern side of the chancel, where it is still to be seen. After the expulsion of the monks in 1539, the Vicar is hardly likely to have used it for the celebration of mass. Hence perhaps its immunity from the fate of other altars in constant use, such as those of Our Lady, St. Lawrence, the Holy Rood, and the Holy Trinity.

After the suppression of chantries by the act passed in the first year of Edward the Sixth and the general demolition of side altars, the two chapels on the eastern side of the transept at Dunster must have been useless for the services prescribed by the new Book of Common Prayer. Both of them, however, having been virtually rebuilt since the introduction of the Perpendicular style of architecture, were presumably in good condition. A resolution seems therefore to have been taken, in or after the middle of the sixteenth century, to connect them with the intervening chancel by piercing apertures in the northern and southern walls of the latter, or by greatly enlarging such apertures as then existed. The erection of a pillar carrying two arches on either side of the chancel caused the lateral chapels to become aisles to it, useful at times when divine service was conducted at the communion table occupying the site of the high altar. All the details of these pillars and arches are of a very debased character, indicating the late period at which they were built.

A return of the second year of Edward the Sixth gives the approximate number of "partakers of the Lord's Holy Sooper" in Dunster as five hundred.[1]

[1] *Somerset Chantries.* (S.R.S.) p. 43.

To the desire of the laity for practical convenience unattended by unnecessary expense is probably due the extraordinary opening between the south-eastern chapel and the transept. Here there is a moulded arch of the thirteenth century, supported by jambs of the fifteenth century, which bend outwards immediately below the capitals, a standing puzzle to architects and antiquaries. The solution now offered is that, after the suppression of the chantries, an ingenious and economical builder united the ancient arch with the later jambs by inserting one stone on either side so shaped as to give a wider opening below than the former would have had. The communion table thus became visible from the southern transept.

The oaken screen which now stands under the shouldered arch mentioned above was placed there about thirty years ago, at the time of the restoration of the church. Before that, it stood under the eastern arch of the tower, giving access to the chancel. There is reason to believe that it was made about 1420, and that it originally stood almost under the rood between the two western piers of the tower.[1]

By a will dated 23 May 1558, John Luttrell, the lessee of the Rectory and of the Priory of Dunster, directed that his body should be buried in the Lady Chapel, which had perhaps been refitted in the reign of Mary.[2]

When Hugh Stewkley acquired the rectory of Dunster, he became responsible for the repair of the chancel, and correspondingly entitled to the chief seat therein.[3] Dame Margaret Luttrell, who obtained possession of the Priory in 1560, does not appear to have disputed his rights in the church, although she

[1] See p. 396 above.
[2] *Somerset Medieval Wills*, vol. iii. p. 211.
[3] Phillimore's *Ecclesiastical Law*.

ARCH IN THE SOUTH TRANSEPT,
DUNSTER CHURCH.

owed him many a grudge. By a will dated in January 1587, he directed that, if he should die in Somerset, he should be buried in the Priory Church of Dunster over against his own seat or pew, or else in the church of Carhampton near his parents.[1] The register of the parish of Dunster shows that he was buried in the church there. If the principal services were conducted in the nave, his pew in the chancel must have been more dignified than convenient. A brass in memory of his relict Elizabeth, who died in 1598, formerly in the chancel, is now to be seen on the floor of the chapel on the eastern side of the south transept. Their younger son, George Stewkley of Dunster and their daughter Margaret alike left directions that they should be buried there near them.[2] Joan their daughter, wife of George Luttrell of Dunster Castle made a will in April 1613, by which she similarly directed that she should be buried in the Priory Church of Dunster, near her parents.[3] She and her husband had doubtless been allowed to occupy a seat in the chancel. After her death, George Luttrell set up a great monument of marble and alabaster against the southern wall of the chancel, whence it was removed in 1876 into the south-eastern chapel. Two recumbent figures on it represent his own father and mother. The inscription on one of the two panels beneath, as recently restored, runs thus :—

"*Here lyeth the body of* Thomas Luttrell esquire *who departed this lyfe in sure hope* of a most *joyful* resurrection the 16 day of Jan^{y}, anno Dom. 1570, anno 13 of Elizabeth late Queene of England, being then High Sheriff of the countie of Somerset & one of the youngest sones of Andrew Luttrell, knight : the sayd Thomas being lawfully married unto Margery Hadley daughter and sole heire of Christopher

[1] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. i. p. 79.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 16.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 80.

Hadley of Wythycomb esquire, by whom he had issue 3 sones and 3 daughters. George, *John*, Andrew . . . 3 daughters, vidz. Ursula, Margaret and Mary, *the which* Andrew, Ursula and Margaret dyed without *any issue* of theire bodyes."

It is necessary to observe that the words printed in italics above are purely conjectural, and that the actual situation of Thomas Luttrell's grave is quite unknown. The monument bears also the effigies of George Luttrell and his wife, the former kneeling westward, the latter lying dead by his side. Curiously enough, the heraldic achievements above do not correspond with the figures, for while one shield shows the arms of Luttrell and Hadley, that which should show the arms of Luttrell and Stewkley shows instead the arms of Luttrell and Popham.

On one of the outer stones above the western window of the south aisle there is an inscription :—

"GOD SAVE THE KING. 1624. JULY XX."[1]

This may perhaps be the date of the completion of some important repairs to the aisle. The masonry of some of the buttresses appears to be post-reformational, and an ancient sepulchral slab may be seen in the parapet. The windows seem to have been re-set in the seventeenth century, and there are some grounds for believing that the whole of the southern wall was then rebuilt with old materials. A narrowing of the aisle by two or three feet would account for the absence of wall-plates and for various irregularities in construction.

The almsbox, bearing the date '1634' and the initials of the two churchwardens of part of that year,

[1] Savage misread the inscription and somehow took the later part of it to indicate the year 1520. *History of the Hundred of Carhampton*, p. 413. Mr. Hancock has followed him. *Dunster Church and Priory*, p. 6.

has a brass cover roughly engraved with two appropriate verses :—

"He that hath pity on the poore lendeth unto the Lord and that which he hath given will He pay him againe. Prov. xix. Whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poore he also shall cry himself but shall not be heard. Prov. xxi."

The will of Thomas Luttrell of Dunster Castle dated the 25th of October 1643, contains the following direction :—"My boddie I will to be buried decently in the parish church of Dunstarr, in my isle which is there."[1] The position of the aisle thus mentioned was so well known at the time as to need no further description. All that can now be said is that if this aisle was the old chancel, the Stewkleys must, tacitly or otherwise, have ceded their rights to the Luttrells before 1643. On the other hand, the place in question may have been one of the aisles of the chancel, and so quite independent of the lay rector. In any case Thomas Luttrell's aisle was "in the parish church," and not on his private property.

It is unfortunately impossible to specify the date at which the chancel ceased to be used for the ordinary services of the church. In the reign of Elizabeth, the Stewkleys, as lay rectors, could presumably have been compelled to maintain it in decent order. The church, however, as a whole was singularly unsuitable to the services sanctioned by the Book of Common Prayer. Owing to the great diameter of the four piers that support the central tower, and to the length of the chancel, a priest ministering at the eastern end of the building could hardly be seen or heard by persons in the nave, and conversely a preacher discoursing from a pulpit in the nave could hardly be

[1] P.C.C. Twisse, f. 169.

seen or heard by persons in the chancel, in either of the eastern chapels, or in the transepts. This seems to have been the real cause of the eventual division of the church into two parts, the somewhat similar division of 1498 having lasted only some forty years.

A guess may be hazarded that, during the period of Puritan ascendancy, in the middle of the seventeenth century, the communion table was removed from the chancel and placed lengthways east and west under the western arch of the tower, near the site of the parochial altar sanctioned by the arbitrators of 1498. However this may be, there is no indication that any religious services, except the office for the burial of the dead, were performed in the eastern limb of the church between the middle of the seventeenth century and the later part of the nineteenth. A payment of 1*l.* 10*s.* made by the churchwardens, in 1676, "for timber for the rayles about the Communion Table" suggests a recent change at the eastern end of the nave. In 1729, they paid no less than 40*l.* to Richard Phelps of Porlock, an indifferent painter, "for doing up the altar-piece."

An ugly gallery of the usual type was set up at the western end of the nave in 1717, thus diminishing the scanty light in that part of the church. Eight bells were bought or re-cast between 1668 and 1782. Chimes were provided in 1711 to play the 113th Psalm every fourth hour through the day and night, at one, five, and nine. A very handsome brass chandelier of eighteen lights was suspended in the nave, in 1740, at a cost of 22*l.* 15*s.* The churchwardens' accounts contain several entries about this 'candlestick' or 'branch.'

After the removal of the communion table from the chancel into the nave, the great majority of the

parishioners ceased to take any interest in the eastern part of the church. So long as the wind did not blow upon them through its broken windows, they did not insist upon its being maintained as an integral part of the fabric. The Stewkleys had moreover ceased to occupy the principal seat in the chancel after their migration from Somerset to Hampshire. To them and to their successors in title, the rectory had become simply a source of income, and they left the care of the chancel to others. In course of time, this part of the fabric came to be called "the old church" and to be regarded merely as the mausoleum of the Luttrell family. Many causes contributed to this result. The successive owners of Dunster Castle in the seventeenth century were nearly related in blood to the Stewkleys; several of their ancestors lay buried in the chancel; they were altogether predominant in the little town of Dunster; and the ground on three sides of the eastern part of the church belonged to them as owners of the former Priory. It is not likely that any Stewkley formally alienated his rectorial rights in the chancel, or that any Luttrell formally undertook to keep it in repair. On the other hand there are fair grounds for believing that the Luttrells had practically obtained exclusive rights there before the end of the seventeenth century. In 1791, there were in their private vault in the chancel nineteen coffins, which, according to the register of burials, would represent as nearly as possible a century.[1] So again, the series of funereal hatchments, formerly affixed to the walls, begins with that of Colonel Francis Luttrell, who died in 1690.

In 1699, the churchwardens of Dunster paid 1*s.* 6*d.* "for tiles taken out of the old church." In

[1] Collinson's *History of Somerset*, vol. ii. p. 18.

1713, they paid 1*s.* 4*d.* to Sir Hugh Stewkley's agent "for paving stones for the church," perhaps removed from the same part of the building. The two following payments are recorded in accounts rendered to Alexander Luttrell of Dunster Castle in 1718 :—

"For new leding 20 feet of glass in the old church, 3*d.* per foot, 6*s.* 6*d.*

For 5 dozen of new quarrys in the old church, 10*d.* per dozen, 4*s.* 2*d.*"

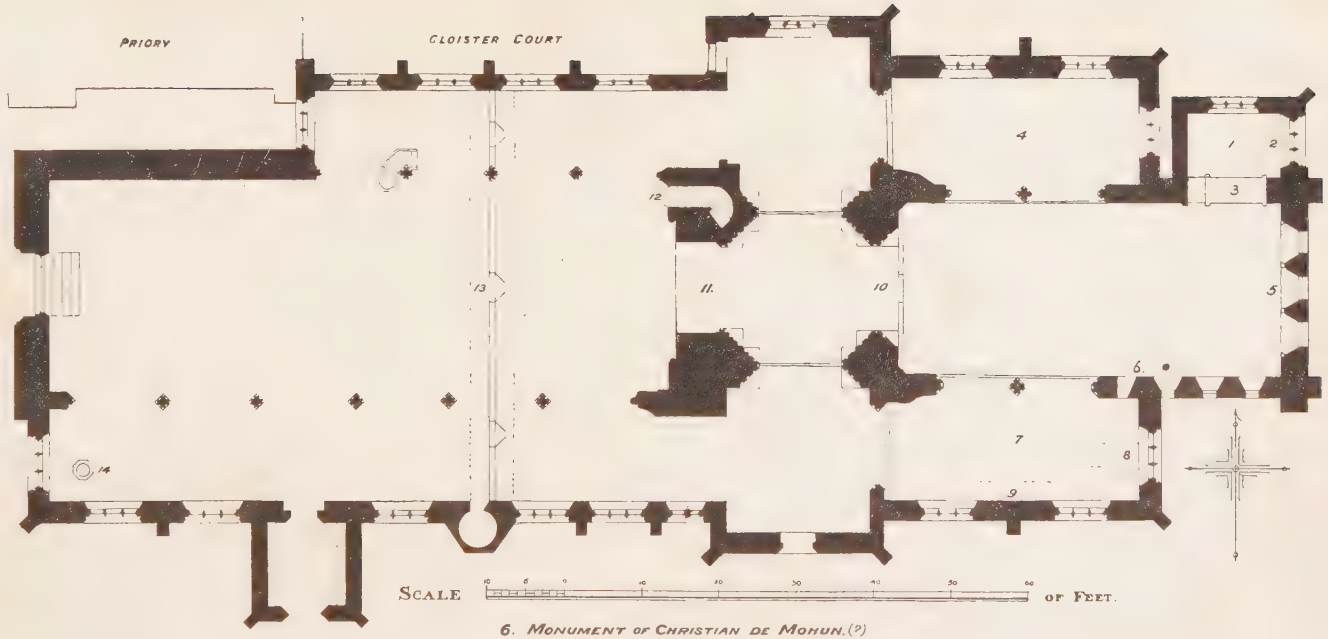
For some years after the death of this Alexander Luttrell in 1737, a certain Robert Coffin was in receipt of a yearly salary of 5*s.* :—

"For cleaning the seats and monuments in the old church at Dunster belonging to the family of the Luttrells and which had always been allowed by the family."

A mention of their 'pews' there at the same period is not without interest, as suggesting that the eastern part of the building was still used. Collinson, however, writing in or shortly before 1791, describes it as "stript of all its furniture and totally neglected."[1] Its condition was if possible worse in 1830.[2]

In 1838, J. C. Buckler, the well-known architect was called in to examine the fabric of Dunster Church, and he drew up an elaborate report upon its condition. With regard to the eastern part, or 'old church,' he stated that the walls were "shattered and infirm in places," that the roof was very defective and covered with "a thick coat of moss," that the mullions and tracery of the windows were "dilapidated and ruinous," and that the floor, "stripped of its pavement," was "strewn with relics of canopied monuments and various kinds of rubbish." In rainy weather, water lay in a pool in the northern transept.

[1] *History of Somerset*, vol. ii. p. 18.
[2] Savage's *History of the Hundred of Carhampton*, pp. 400, 401.



1 Sacristy.
2. Ancient Altar
3. Easter Sepulchre, with effigies of Sir Hugh Luttrell and his Wife
4 Lady Chapel
5 Site of High Altar
6. Monument of Christian de Mohun.(?)
7. Chapel of St Lawrence.(?)
8 Incised slab of Dame Elizabeth Luttrell (placed here in 1876.)
9. Luttrell Monument.(placed here in 1876)
10. Site of Parochial Altar. since 1876
11 Site of Parochial Altar. before 1876
12. Stairs to Tower
13. Screen
14 Font

PLAN OF DUNSTER CHURCH.

Proceeding westward, he found that "the recessed arch at the back of the altar" was a "receptacle of rubbish." The windows in the northern aisle were decayed. The piers in the nave although structurally safe, were far from upright. The gallery at the west end blocked out the light and gave to that part of the church "the gloominess of a crypt." All the doors admitted "intolerable draughts." The pavement, composed of fragments of stone, brick and tiles, was "in the worst possible condition," dangerous by reason of its unevenness. Many ancient oaken seats "elaborately and finely ornamented" were concealed by later wood work, "the most promiscuous, unseemly and uncomfortable assemblage of pews that can be met with."

Buckler's vigorous language was not without effect, and many of his recommendations were followed. Although his proposal to place the communion-table under the eastern arch of the tower was rejected, it seems to have been set back a little. A large screen with glass panels was put up immediately behind it, and similar screens were put up to separate the aisles from the transept, which thus became a mere vestibule. A useless arch was at the same time built to connect the two Norman jambs attached to the western piers of the tower. The external turret which formerly gave access to the loft over the main screen was converted into a small vestry. In the 'old church' nothing was done beyond the most necessary repairs.

In 1875, a complete restoration of the church was undertaken, at a cost of about 12,000*l.*, of which nearly 10,000*l.* were contributed by Mr. Luttrell. The Norman door at the west end was re-opened, the gallery was removed, and new oaken seats, carved by

Hems of Exeter, were provided for nave and aisles alike. By the advice of Mr. G. E. Street, a raised platform, separated from the transept by open screens, was constructed under the tower, and the communion table was placed upon it, in the situation previously recommended by Buckler. The ancient screen that had stood there, giving access to the chancel, was placed under the curious shouldered arch in the southern transept.

In the 'old church,' Mr. Street's alterations were numerous and important. Fragments of Early English mouldings found in the walls afforded him a certain clue for the reconstruction of three lancet windows in the eastern wall and of the corresponding piscina and sedilia in the southern wall. The old sacristy on the northern side was practically rebuilt, and all the encaustic tiles found in the building were put together in it. The Jacobean monument set up by the first George Luttrell, the earlier incised slab of Dame Elizabeth Luttrell, and the brass of Elizabeth Stewkley were alike removed into the south-eastern chapel. The only monuments now remaining in the chancel are that attributed above to Dame Christian de Mohun and the mutilated effigies of the first Sir Hugh Luttrell and his wife lying upon an Easter Sepulchre of later date. Stalls, like those of a private chapel, were set up in the chancel, and open screens were made to divide it from the lateral chapels, that on the north being converted into a vestry. A mediæval altar-slab, which had lain over the grave of the Poyntz family, was re-erected upon short columns on the site of the high altar below the east window. The chancel and its lateral chapels were alike repaved with encaustic tiles copied from the old ones, with the addition of some bearing the arms of Luttrell.

Since 1876, many of the windows of the church have been filled with stained glass, scriptural, heraldic, or decorative. Part of the garden of the Priory, on three sides of the 'old church', has been added to the graveyard, with some reservations, and a lych-gate has been erected over the entrance from St. George's Street. Some of the buildings of the Priory now go with the Vicarage, some with the Castle. One of the rooms near the western end of the church has a mullioned window and a fine stone fireplace, dating apparently from the early part of the fifteenth century. Beyond the great barn stands the monastic pigeon-house, a circular building with a series of internal niches, and a central ladder revolving on a pivot. In the garden of the Vicarage there is an oak tree of yet greater antiquity.

OLD GLASS QUARRY
IN DUNSTER CHURCH.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Manor of Avill.

Avill is a hamlet in the south-western part of the parish of Dunster. For many centuries it was a separate manor and tithing, extending into the parishes of Carhampton and Timberscombe, and its history is quite distinct from that of the manor of Dunster.

In the reign of Edward the Confessor, Avill (Auene) belonged to Ælfric (Aluric) who also owned Dunster (Torre), Bratton and Broadwood. Like those places, it was, at the Norman Conquest, bestowed upon William de Mohun, who, however, did not long retain it in demesne. In 1086, his military tenant there was a certain Ralph, the other householders being a villein and five bordars. The estate comprised two ploughlands, four acres of meadow, two acres of wood, fifty acres of pasture, and a mill which yielded 20*d.* The whole was assessed at half a hide and valued at 10*s.*[1]

It seems probable that Ralph's descendants took a surname from the place of their abode. Henry of Avill (Aule) was a witness of several charters of William de Mohun the Fourth, between 1177 and 1194.[2] In 1201, Agnes of Avill was entered as holding a knight's fee of the Honour of Dunster, but

[1] *Domesday Book.*
[2] *Bruton Cartulary*, (S.R.S.), nos. 6, 7, 73, 224, 393, 394.

in the following year, the holding of William of Avill was entered as half a fee, the amount at which it remained fixed in subsequent centuries.[1] In 1233, there was a dispute between Hugh of Avill and his overlord, Reynold de Mohun of Dunster, as to the boundaries of their respective properties, and the Sheriff was ordered by the King to make a perambulation of them.[2]

The next member of the family mentioned was Richard Avele, or Havel, who was returned as holding half a fee under the lord of Dunster in 1279, 1285, and 1303.[3] He was succeeded by his son Geoffrey, who held the half fee in 1316, 1330, and 1346.[4] In 1314, Geoffrey son of Richard of Avill (Auele) quit-claimed to Simon de la Torre and Lucy his wife, late the wife of William Astyng of la Bergshe, for their lives, all his right in the tenement and land of la Bergshe, and granted to them common of pasture on his hill on the south side of Avill and reasonable estovers there. In consideration of this, they paid a fine of 4 marks and undertook to pay a yearly rent of 6*s*., to do suit twice a year at his court at Avill, and to render certain services elaborately set out, such as assisting their neighbours in repairing the "millegrip" of Avill and the "watercloses," ploughing, harrowing, reaping, mowing, carrying hay and the like. A further rent of bread, capons and eggs was also exacted.[5] It is remarkable that the lord of the manor is not mentioned among the six persons assessed at Avill to the subsidy of 1327. Simon de la Torre appears in the list under the name of Simon atte Burghe.

[1] Pipe Rolls.

[2] *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1231-1234*, p. 295.

[3] *Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, vol. ii, pp. 177, 352; *Feudal Aids*, vol. iv, p. 302.

[4] *Feudal Aids*, vol, iv, pp. 334, 341; Inq. Post Mortem, C. Edw. III. file 22, no. 11.

[5] D.C.B. no. 10.

Another contributor was Godfrey of Illycombe in Dunster, and a third was Ralph atte Foremarsh, who must have lived at the place of that name in the parish of Carhampton, on the north side of Dunster.[1] There is evidence at a later date that part of the manor of Avill, or at any rate part of the estate of the lord of Avill, was close to the sea-shore, where he had a "fysshinge were."[2]

The family of Avill seems to have come to an end about the middle of the fourteenth century. Perhaps the heiress married a Kempe. In 1371, John Kempe, citizen and girdler of London, and Ellen his wife sold the manor to William Cheddar of Bristol. Their conveyance of it makes an obscure allusion to a knight's fee, and states that certain services were due by Sir James Audley, who is otherwise known to have been lord of the adjoining manor of Staunton.[3]

About this period, there is the earliest mention of a curious and doubtless very ancient obligation upon the Prior of Dunster, the lords of Avill and Withycombe, and the owner of Gillcotts (Gildencote) in Carhampton, to supply a wagon with two men and eight oxen to carry the corn or hay of the lord of Dunster for one day apiece. As he had to provide food, this 'carriage work' was valued at only 1*s*.[4]

There is no reason to suppose that William Cheddar ever took up his abode at Avill. The little manor in fact became a mere source of income to a series of very wealthy persons residing at a distance. William Cheddar died about Christmas 1382, and was succeeded by his brother Robert, who had been Mayor of Bristol.[5] In 1383, the manor of Avill was, with

[1] Lay Subsidies, 169/5.
[2] A.D. 1484. Ministers' Accounts, bundle 968, no. 4.
[3] Feet of Fines, Somerset, 45 Edw. III. (Green, iii. 82.)
[4] D.C.M. IX, 2, 3; XVIII, 2, 3; XIX, 4; XX, 38; XXII, 13.
[5] *Proceedings of Somerset Archæological Society*, vol. xxxiv, p. 115.

other property, settled upon Robert Cheddar and Joan his wife, who was the daughter and heiress of Simon Hanham of Gloucestershire.[1] After his death a few months later, she married Sir Thomas Brook of Weycroft near Axminster, who held the settled estate jointly with her until his death in January 1418.[2]

The earliest account of a reeve of Avill that has been preserved belongs to the year 1396, when the main source of revenue consisted of fixed rents amounting to close upon 23*l.* Courts held twice a year yielded only a few shillings. No mention is made of the demesne, which was evidently let. Among the expenses were payments of 2*s.* at Dunster for respite of suit to the court of the Barony, and 1*s.* as a composition for the carriage-work noticed above.[3] As late as the middle of the seventeenth century, the lord of Dunster used to receive four separate payments from Avill, that is to say 2*s.* from the tithing as a 'common fine' to the Hundred Court of Carhampton, 6*d.* as a Candlemas rent, 2*s.* as a feodary rent to the Castle, and 1*s.* as a 'high rent' to the manor of Carhampton Barton.[4]

Lady Brook is entered as holding half a fee at Avill in 1428 and in 1431.[5] She died in April 1437 and, as her eldest son Richard Cheddar survived her only a few weeks, the property passed to her second son, Thomas.[6] It is difficult to give any satisfactory explanation of an original indenture in French witnessing that Thomas Cheddar did homage to John Luttrell, "lord of Dunster," on the 3rd of March in the ninth year of Henry the Fifth, for the manor of Avill held

[1] Feet of Fines, Somerset. 6 Ric. II. (Green, iii. p. 118.)

[2] *Ibid.* Divers Counties, 11 Ric. II. (Green, iii, p. 204); D.C.M. iv; Inq. post mortem, 5 Hen. V. no. 54.

[3] Ministers' Accounts, bundle 968, no. 1.

[4] D.C.M. iii. 12.

[5] *Feudal Aids*, vol. iv, pp. 390, 430.

[6] Inq. post mortem, 15 Hen. VI. no. 62; *Proceedings of Somerset Archæological Society*, vol. xliv. p. 17.

of him by the service of half a knight's fee.[1] Such homage would only be due on succession, and John Luttrell was lord of Dunster from March 1428 to June 1430, whereas the document professes to belong to the year 1422.

Thomas Cheddar died in July 1442, leaving as his coheiresses two daughters, Joan, aged eighteen the relict of Richard Stafford, and Isabel, aged fourteen, the wife of John Newton, son of the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Avill, however, seems to have been assigned in dower to the widow, Isabel, who survived until January 1476. It then passed to Elizabeth daughter and heiress of her eldest daughter Joan, by her second husband John Talbot, Viscount Lisle.[2] This Elizabeth was the wife of Sir Edward Grey, who was created Baron Lisle in 1475, and Viscount Lisle in 1483.[3]

Some accounts of the reeve of Avill in the reign of Edward the Fourth show that the rents of the free and the customary tenants had remained practically unchanged since the close of the previous century. In 1476, however, there was an unusual receipt of over 43*l.* "coming from the fines of divers customary tenants made with Edward Basyng, the steward, in full court held there."[4] A conjecture may be offered that the tenants paid this money for the enclosure of the lord's waste, or some other surrender of his rights.

After the death of Elizabeth, Viscountess Lisle, in September 1487, her husband continued to hold the manor of Avill, presumably by the courtesy of Eng-

[1] D.C.M. IV. 28.

[2] Inq. post mortem, 21 Hen. VI. no. 55; Escheators' Enrolled Accounts, 37, m. 34. An engraving of Thomas Cheddar's monumental brass is given in *Proceedings of the Somerset Archæological Society*, vol. xliv, p. 44. Inq. post mortem, 32 Hen. VI. no. 38; 7 Edw. IV. no. 42; 12 Edw. IV. no. 40; 16 Edw. IV. no. 67.

[3] D.C.M. V. 55; XXXI. 10.

[4] Ministers' Accounts, bundle 968, no. 3.

land, until his own death in July 1492, when it passed to their son John, Viscount Lisle, who died in September 1504. By a post-nuptial settlement, this John had given a life interest in Avill to his wife Muriel, daughter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey.[1] She married a second husband, Sir Thomas Knyvett, and died about Christmas 1512.[2] Her only child Elizabeth, Baroness Lisle, married Henry Courtenay, Earl of Devon, but died under age and without issue, in the spring of 1519, when the property passed to her aunt.[3]

Elizabeth Grey, daughter of Edward, Viscount Lisle by Elizabeth Talbot his wife, married firstly Edmund Dudley, the celebrated minister of Henry the Seventh. After his execution in August 1510, she married Arthur Plantagenet, an illegitimate son of Edward the Fourth, who was created Viscount Lisle in 1523. The steward who held a court at Avill in their names in 1521, describes her as 'Viscountess Lisley', although she was only Baroness at that time.[4] On her behalf, her husband paid 50*s.* to Sir Andrew Luttrell of Dunster in 1530, by way of relief on half a fee.[5] She died without issue by him, and, in 1531, Sir John Dudley, her son by her first husband, conveyed the manor of Avill and other property inherited from the Cheddars to feoffees, presumably with a view to sale.[6]

Sir Edward Seymour, afterwards celebrated in history as Duke of Somerset, bought the manor before 1536, but he did not hold it long.[7] In 1539, when

[1] Inq. post mortem, C. II. vol. 8, no. 10; Early Chancery Proceedings, file 95, nos. 63-65; Inq. post mortem, E. II. file 497, no. 52.

[2] Nicholas's *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 516.

[3] Patent Roll, 11 Hen. VIII. part 2, m. 6.

[4] Court Rolls, General Series, Portf. 198. no. 17.

[5] D.C.M. v. 9, 11.

[6] Feet of Fines, Somerset, 23 Hen. VIII.

[7] Chancery Proceedings, Series II. file 42, no. 82; Star Chamber Proceedings, xvii, no. 366.

he was Earl of Hertford, he and Anne his wife sold the manor and various lands in Avill and Slape to John Stocker of Poole, merchant, and Edith his wife. The fine levied for this purpose professes to deal with thirty messuages, ten cottages, four hundred acres of land, forty of meadow, a hundred of pasture, fifty of wood and a thousand of furze and heath, but these round numbers must not be taken literally. On the other hand, a specific mention of 30*s.* rent suggests that very few of the tenants then held estates in perpetuity.[1] The purchaser died in September of the same year and his relict Edith, daughter of Richard Phelips, married John Horsey of Clifton Maubank, six months afterwards.[2] When John Stocker the second came of age in 1555, Sir John Horsey and Edith his wife surrendered the manor to him in consideration of an annuity, but he died within a few years and they re-entered. Elizabeth his relict, daughter and coheiress of Sir Christopher Hales, who married secondly George Sydenham, had a long suit against them in the early years of Elizabeth, on behalf of her infant son, John Stocker the third.[3]

There was also litigation about the same period with regard to the manor-house and farm of Avill, which the Horseys had demised for three lives at a yearly rent of 40*l.* and half a tun of Gascon wine.[4] In the sixteenth century, there was a chapel of St. Mary Magdalene at Avill, close to the boundary of the parish of Dunster.[5] The number of tenants was about ten.[6] In 1594, John Stocker the third paid 50*s.* to George Luttrell of Dunster Castle by way of relief on suc-

[1] D.C.M. v. 21.
[2] Inq. post mortem, E. II. 929. no. 1.
[3] Chancery Proceedings, Series II. file 169, nos. 11-13.
[4] *Ibid.* file 45, no. 10; file 42, no. 82; file 41, no. 11.
[5] See page 347 above.
[6] Court of Requests Proceedings, 127, no. 12.

cession to the manor of Avill, reckoned as half a knight's fee.[1] He married Margaret daughter and coheiress of Anthony Skutt of Stanton Drew.[2] In 1609, John Stocker and Margaret his wife conveyed to Robert Roper three messuages, a water grist-mill, two fulling-mills, a dovecot, seventy acres of land, fifty of meadow, eighty of pasture and fifty of wood, and common of pasture in Avill and Dunster.[3] The gristmill doubtless occupied the site of that mentioned in Domesday Book. A new fulling-mill at Avill had been let, in 1476, to John Cockes, 'touker' for three lives according to the custom of the manor.[4] The conveyance of 1609 must be regarded as part of a mortgage or settlement rather than a sale, for the Stockers continued to hold Avill for some time longer. Their usual residence was at Chilcompton.

John Stocker died in 1612 or 1613, and was succeeded by Anthony his son.[5] This Anthony Stocker was a free suitor to the Hundred Court of Carhampton in 1614 and 1619.[6] He married Margaret daughter of Sir Arthur Capel of Hadham, in Hertfordshire, and had issue at least four sons and two daughters.[7] John Stocker, the eldest, was born in 1615. Through serving as a Colonel in the King's army he got into trouble and had to pay a fine of over 1300*l.* in 1648.[8] He conveyed the manors of Avill and Hinton Blewett to feoffees in the following year, but he was entered as a free suitor to the Hundred Court of Carhampton as late as 1658.[9] His brother and heir William was similarly entered in 1661 and 1668. This William

[1] D.C.M. v. 43.
[2] *Visitation of Somersetshire*, 1623, p. 105; Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. iv, p. 19.
[3] Feet of Fines, Somerset, 6 Jac. I.
[4] D.C.M. v. 55.
[5] *Visitation of Somersetshire*, p. 105.
[6] D.C.M. xxxi. 19.
[7] *Visitation of Somersetshire;* Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. iv, p. 88.
[8] *Calendar of Committee for Compounding*, p. 1836.
[9] Feet of Fines, Somerset, Mich. 1649; D.C.M.

Stocker, his wife Mary and their eldest son John alike died in 1669, when the inheritance passed to the second son Anthony.[1] In 1699, Anthony Stocker and Sarah his wife sold the manor of Avill and land in the parishes of Dunster, Carhampton, Crowcombe, Stogumber, Timberscombe and St. Decumans, to William Blackford.[2] The family, however, continued elsewhere in the county.[3]

William Blackford of Dunster, the purchaser of Avill, had but recently bought the manor of Bossington and an estate at Holnicote. Dying in 1728, he was buried at Selworthy. His son and successor of the same name died in 1730, leaving an infant daughter Henrietta, who died in 1733, in the seventh year of her age. The Blackford property in Somerset then passed to her second cousin, Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Dyke of Tetton in the parish of Kingston.[4] This lady, who eventually inherited the large, though scattered, estates of the several branches of the Dyke family, married, in 1745, Sir Thomas Acland, and a part of the ancient manor of Avill, extending from the ridge of Grabbist nearly to the sea-shore, belongs to their descendant Sir C. T. Dyke Acland.

Courts baron for the then undivided manor used to be held at Kitswall in the early part of the nineteenth century.[5] The old feodary rent of 2*s.* used also to be paid to successive owners of Dunster Castle. It was extinguished in 1870, in connexion with an exchange of lands between the late Sir Thomas Dyke Acland and Mr. G. F. Luttrell, by which the latter acquired the mill of Avill and the adjacent land in the valley.

[1] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. iv, pp. 88, 89.

[2] Feet of Fines, Somerset, 10 Will. III.

[3] Collinson's *History of Somerset*, vol. ii, p. 130.

[4] Chadwyck Healey's *History of part of West Somerset.*

[5] Savage's *Hundred of Carhampton* pp. 307, 451.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Manor of Staunton.

Staunton occupies the eastern part of the parish of Dunster, immediately south of Minehead. In the reign of Edward the Confessor, it belonged to a certain Walo or Walle, whose estate there comprised three virgates. William the Conqueror granted it to William de Mohun, under whom its value rose in the course of a few years from 7*s.* 6*d.* to 15*s.* At the time of the great survey of 1086, he had two and a half virgates in demesne. There were also five acres of meadow and forty of pasture. The tenants consisted of two villeins, two serfs, and two bordars, who held half a virgate and a carucate. There was only one plough-team, although the arable land was sufficient for two. To this estate had been added another comprising one virgate, two acres of meadow and fifty of pasture, worth altogether 3*s.* Here there was only one bordar.[1]

A charter of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, issued in the middle of the twelfth century, shows that one of the earlier Mohuns had granted, or confirmed, the tithes of Staunton to the Benedictine monks of Bath.[2] There is no record of the date at which a lord of Dunster gave the manor to a military

[1] *Domesday Book.* C. 65.
[2] *Two Chartularies of Bath* (S.R.S.),

tenant, to be held of him and his successors upon the usual terms of feudal service.

In 1196 and in 1201, a certain Walter of Dunheved, or Downhead, held of the Honour of Dunster a knight's fee which may safely be located at Staunton.[1] He presumably took his name from Downhead near Mells, in the eastern part of Somerset. We find him claiming land at Edington in 1208, and the advowson of the church of Badgworth twelve years later.[2] He died in or about 1224.[3]

Several members of the Downhead family were connected with Ireland in the thirteenth century, but it is impossible to say which of them owned Staunton in the long reign of Henry the Third. A second Walter of Downhead, who had land at Mells in 1280, is described as grandson and heir of Erneis of Downhead.[4] This Walter may probably be identified with a person of that name who, in 1279 and again in 1285, was found by inquisition to hold a knight's fee at Staunton of Sir John de Mohun of Dunster recently deceased.[5] Staunton was one of the fees assigned to Eleanor de Mohun the widow, who married a second husband, Sir William Martin.[6] Under this arrangement, the Martins obtained of course only the overlordship, valuable in the event of the death of Walter of Downhead during her lifetime, after which it would pass to the owner of Dunster Castle. Before long, however, they obtained actual possession of the manor, presumably by purchase.

[1] Pipe Rolls; *Rotuli de Oblatis*, p. 136.
[2] *Rotuli de Finibus*, p. 430; Curia Regis Roll, no. 74. m. 1.
[3] *Somersetshire Pleas* (S.R.S.), p. 80.
[4] Assize Roll, no. 763, m. 38. Further notices of the Downhead family will be found in *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland 1171-1301; Calendar of Manuscripts of the Dean & Chapter of Wells* (Hist. MSS. Comm. 1907); *Feet of Fines for Somerset*, vols. i. and ii; *Feudal Aids*, vol. iv; *Somersetshire Pleas*.
[5] *Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, vol. ii. p. 177.
[6] *Ibid.* pp. 352, 353.

In 1296, John Downhead sued Gilbert de Pero, William Martin and Eleanor his wife, William of Wells, Gilbert atte Putte, and four others, for disseising him of the manor of Staunton Downhead by Dunster. Gilbert de Pero had, it appears, recently enfeoffed the Martins, but the record of the proceedings does not show his title to it or the relationship of John Downhead to Walter Downhead. Eventually the plaintiff failed to appear and the Martins were left in possession.[1]

From this date onwards, the history of the manor of Staunton is tolerably clear. The chief point to be noted is that it seldom, if ever, had a resident lord. Passing from one family to another, it was simply a source of income to persons living at a distance.

In 1303, William Martin, 'lord of Staunton', was returned as holding half a fee there of John de Mohun, the amount being, as in many other cases, understated, to the prejudice of the Crown.[2] He is described as lord of Kemeys in the celebrated letter from the barons of England to Pope Boniface the Eighth.[3] Dying in October 1324, he was succeeded by his eldest surviving son of the same name.[4]

William Martin the second was summoned to Parliament in the following year, but he did not long survive his father and died in August 1326, leaving a widow, Margaret, without issue.[5] At an inquisition taken in that year, it was found that at the time of his death he was seised of two-thirds of the 'hamlet' of Staunton, which was held of John de Mohun by service of a quarter of a fee. It then comprised a

[1] Assize Rolls, no. 1310, m. 5*d.*; no. 1313, m. 34.
[2] *Feudal Aids*, vol. iv. p. 302.
[3] *The Ancestor*, no. vii. p. 256.
[4] Escheators' Enrolled Accounts, I. m. 16; Fine Roll, 18 Edw. II. m. 17.
[5] Escheators' Enrolled Accounts, I. m. 16*d.*

capital messuage and a garden of two acres, a water-mill, fifty-two acres of arable land in demesne, six acres of meadow, twenty-one acres of pasture, and some 'mountain pasture' of small value. There were on the manor three free tenants and eight bondmen, whose services are minutely specified.[1] From the fact that William Martin the second held only two thirds of the estate, it may be inferred that the remainder was in the possession of a widow, either his mother Eleanor, or his sister-in-law Jouette, daughter of Sir John Hastings and relict of his elder brother Edmund Martin.[2]

A third of the lands and fees of William Martin was assigned in dower to the widow Margaret, who soon afterwards married Sir Robert of Watevill. The other two thirds were divided between his two coheirs, his sister Eleanor, the wife of Philip Columbers, and his nephew, James Audley, son of his sister Joan by Sir Nicholas Audley.[3]

Staunton fell to the share of James Audley, who was summoned to Parliament in 1330, when he was about seventeen years of age.[4] At some unspecified date, he demised to his aunt, Eleanor Columbers, six messuages, one carucate of land, eight acres of meadow, two acres of wood, and two thirds of the mill at Staunton, for which she undertook to do the necessary suit at the court of the lord of Dunster. At her death in 1342, without issue, this property reverted to him.[5]

In 1353, Sir James Audley arranged to sell to the King the reversion, after his own death, of certain

[1] Inq. post mortem, 19 Edw. II. no. 100.
[2] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1292-1301*, p. 314.
[3] *Ibid. 1327-1330*, p. 261; *1381-1385*, p. 515; Inq. post mortem 33 Edw. III. no. 10.
[4] *Feudal Aids*, vol. iv. p. 341; *Calendar of Inquisitions*, vol. vi. p. 220.
[5] Inq. post mortem, 16 Edw. III. no. 51.

manors and advowsons in Cornwall, Devon and Somerset, including his estate at Staunton. In connexion with this sale, an elaborate 'extent' was made at Staunton 'in Dunsterdene', the details of which may be compared with those given in the inquisition of 1326. If we may assume both valuations to have been made with equal impartiality, the arable land had in twenty-seven years risen in value from 4*d.* to 1*s.* an acre, and the yield of the mill had risen from 7*s.* 6*d.* to 1*l.* The pleas and perquisites of the manorial courts were, however, assessed at only 6*s.* 8*d.*[1] The transaction between Sir James Audley and the King was completed in the same year by a fine levied in the Court of Common Pleas.[2]

The object of Edward the Third in buying from Sir James Audley the reversion of various manors and advowsons was to bestow them upon the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary Graces, recently founded by him near the Tower of London. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and others were accordingly appointed as feoffees to carry out his intentions in the matter.[3] Little, however, could actually be done, as Sir James Audley lived to a considerable age and survived the King by nearly nine years.

In May 1374, Sir James Audley ceded his life interest in the manor of Staunton to William Gambon, for a yearly rent of 6*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Some two years before this, Gambon had been appointed Constable of Gainsborough Castle by John of Gaunt, and he was also one of the yeomen of the King's Chamber. By means then of his influence at Court he obtained not only a royal confirmation of his arrangement with Audley, but also a definite grant in fee of the reversion

[1] Misc. Inq. 27 Edw. III. file 169.
[2] Feet of Fines, Divers Counties, 27 Edw. III.
[3] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1388-1392*, p. 364.

of the manor.[1] It was easy for Richard the Second to be generous at the expense of the Cistercian monks. Subject to the temporary rent payable to Audley, and to the feudal services due to Dunster Castle, William Gambon became the owner of Staunton. In 1379 accordingly, we find him paying 2*s.* to Lady de Mohun for respite of suit of court for a twelvemonth.[2]

Complications, however, arose ere long. In the first place, the feoffees of Edward the Third, ignoring the grant to Gambon, formally conveyed to the Abbot and Convent of St. Mary Graces the reversion which he had bought from Audley.[3] In the second place, Richard the Second, altogether disregarding the pious intention of his grandfather, granted them to his own half-brother, John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon. His letters patent to this effect bear date the 18th of December 1384, but, within two months, he, with the assent of the Council, made a fresh and inconsistent grant of them to his favourite, Robert de Vere, Marquess of Dublin.[4] In the course of the financial year ending at Michaelmas 1385, the Marquess paid two visits to West Somerset, presumably for the purpose of inspecting the property at Staunton. On one occasion he stayed at Minehead and on the other at Dunster Castle, and the costs of his entertainment at those places amounting to 6*l.* 1*s.* 5*d.* were defrayed by Lady de Mohun.[5]

The letters patent in favour of the Earl of Huntingdon mentioned above were not revoked until the 2nd of April 1386, the day after the death of Sir James Audley.[6] Although the property that should

[1] Patent Roll, 48 Edw. III. part 2, m. 4; Duchy of Lancaster Miscellaneous Books, vol. xiii, f. 55.
[2] D.C.M. IV. 13.
[3] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1401-1405*, p. 267.
[4] *Ibid. 1381-1385*, p. 515.
[5] D.C.M. XXXI. 2.
[6] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1385-1389*, p. 113.

then have passed to the monks was valued at 200 marks a year, they had perforce to be satisfied with an annuity of 110 marks derived from other sources.[1]

Upon hearing of the death of Sir James Audley, the Sheriff of Somerset entered upon the manor of Staunton, with a view to handing it over to the Marquess of Dublin. William Gambon, however, came forward with his letters patent of 1374, and, as the Marquess failed to appear to show cause against them in Chancery, those of 1386 were revoked in so far as they related to the manor of Staunton,[2]

Even after this, Gambon was threatened with the loss of his property. In 1388, Robert de Vere, now Duke of Ireland, was cited to appear before 'the Merciless Parliament' to answer charges brought against him by five lords opposed to the King's policy, and was condemned to death as a traitor. His unentailed estates were consequently forfeited.[3] The King thereupon, in the month of July, made a fresh grant to the Earl of Huntingdon of various lands that had belonged to Sir James Audley, including specifically the manor of Staunton 'by Dunsterdene.'[4]

The Earl of Huntingdon was promoted to the dignity of Duke of Exeter in 1397, but joining in a conspiracy against Henry the Fourth, he was taken prisoner and beheaded in January 1400. Two months later, the Parliament declared his estates to be forfeited.[5] Once more then the Crown was enabled to dispose of the lands acquired from Sir James Audley. Henry the Fourth, however, instead of bestowing them upon a relation or a favourite, determined to

[1] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1399-1401*, p. 275.
[2] *Ibid. 1385-1389*, p. 332.
[3] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iii. p. 237.
[4] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1385-1389*, p. 495.
[5] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iii. p. 459. His son, restored to the Earldom, eventually got compensation for the loss of Staunton. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1441-1446*, p. 242.

carry out the intention of his grandfather. With this object he issued letters patent granting to the Abbot and Convent of St. Mary Graces various manors, including that of Staunton. The pension assigned in lieu of them was of course withdrawn.[1] Staunton was again enumerated in a list of the possessions confirmed to the monks by Pope Boniface the Ninth in 1403.[2] When Sir John Cornwall and Elizabeth his wife, the King's sister, sought to recover a third of this and two other manors as definitely assigned to her in dower by her former husband, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Abbot pleaded as if all three belonged to him and his convent.[3] Whether they ever got anything in compensation for Staunton does not appear.

It is doubtful whether a certain William Gambon who died in 1392 was the person who had acquired the manor of Staunton.[4] If he was, we must suppose him to have conveyed it to feoffees, or to have sold it outright, leaving the purchaser to take the risk of a lawsuit. In different years between 1403 and 1409, the tenants of the lands "late of William Gambon" paid 2*s*. to the bailiff of Sir Hugh Luttrell for respite of suit of court.[5] One list of the fees belonging to the Honour of Dunster at this period specifies John Wadham and William Fry as the tenants of a fee at Staunton.[6] In 1410, and in every year from 1413 to 1420, William Fry paid 2*s*. for respite of suit of court.[7] The earliest of the existing title-deeds of Staunton is a quit-claim by John son of William Gambon to William Fry and five others of

[1] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1399-1401*, pp. 275, 284, 397.
[2] *Calendar of Papal Letters*, vol. v. p. 548.
[3] Placita de Banco, 574. m. 116.
[4] Inq. post mortem, 17 Ric. II. no. 26.
[5] D.C.M. IV. 15.
[6] D.C.M. IV. 18.
[7] D.C.M. IV. 15, 25.

all his right in the manor, the water-mill, lands, tenements, rents, services, wardships, marriages, reliefs and escheats pertaining thereto. The over-lord, Sir Hugh Luttrell, was a witness to this document in 1416. An inquisition of the following year shows that a certain John Milward had been in actual possession for many years, presumably as an undertenant. [1]

The court-rolls of the Barony of Dunster give Peter Fry as owner of Staunton from 1421 to 1427. In 1429, the tenants of lands there "late of Peter Fry" were required to do homage and fealty to Sir John Luttrell. [2] Two years later, a second Peter Fry, described as of Kingsbridge in the county of Devon, esquire, was in possession. [3] Although he paid yearly for respite of suit to the court of the Barony of Dunster, he did not do homage until October 1449. [4]

A third Peter Fry paid 5*l.* by way of relief to the Yorkist lord of Dunster at the beginning of the reign of Edward the Fourth. [5] Dying some nineteen years later, he was succeeded by his son Robert, then about sixteen years of age. At the inquisition taken shortly afterwards, it was found that Staunton was held of the Earl of Huntingdon by knight's service and a yearly rent of 2*s.* [6] This Robert Fry did homage to Sir Hugh Luttrell in May 1500. [7] He died in March 1531. [8]

William Fry, son and heir of Robert Fry, similarly did homage to Sir Andrew Luttrell in May 1532. [9] Some nine years later, he settled the manor of Staunton on his son William Fry the younger. [10] Bartholomew

[1] Inq. post mortem, 4 Hen. V. no. 50, and Exchequer transcript.
[2] D.C.M. IV. 30.
[3] *Feudal Aids*, vol. iv. p. 430.
[4] D.C.M. IV. 38.
[5] D.C.M. I. 27.
[6] Inq. post mortem, 20 Edw. IV, no. 41.
[7] D.C.M. IV. 56.
[8] Inq. post mortem, C. II. 81 (312).
[9] D.C.M. V. 14.
[10] Feet of Fines, Somerset, Hilary, 32 Hen. VIII.

Fry seems to have done homage to Thomas Luttrell for a fee at Staunton, in April 1559.[1] He is described as son of William Fry.[2] His wife's name was Elizabeth.[3]

In 1593, Bartholomew Fry, gentleman, and Ferdinando Fry, his eldest son, conveyed to Richard Godbeare the whole manor of Staunton, with its appurtenances in the parishes of Dunster and Minehead, subject to the rents and services due therefrom.[4] Four years later, Godbeare in turn conveyed it to Nicholas Downe, a merchant of Barnstaple, and the purchaser did homage to George Luttrell in November 1601.[5]

Nicholas Downe seems to have been succeeded by Richard Downe, who matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, in 1615 and eventually proceeded to the degree of D.D. He became rector of Tawstock and of Marwood in Devonshire.

Although the little manor of Staunton had for centuries had its own court baron, the tithingman had been required to attend the lawdays at Minehead. When Minehead received a royal charter of incorporation in 1559, and became a parliamentary borough, the householders at Staunton obtained the franchise as belonging to it. In a custumal of 1647, there is the following curious entry: —

"The custom is that the tithingman of Staunton every yeare upon Hocke Tuesday, beinge the third Tuesday after Easter, in the morninge before sunne risinge, doe bringe into this mannor [of Minehead] a greene boughe and set the same in the place within the said mannor where the lord's courts have been kept most usually, and, after he hath so done, he shall goe to the next tennant's house within the

[1] D.C.M. v. 29, 32.
[2] Chancery Proceedings, Series II, bundle 67, no. 20.
[3] Feet of Fines, Somerset, Trinity 15 Eliz. and Easter 26 Eliz.
[4] *Ibid.* Mich. 35 and 36 Eliz.
[5] D.C.M. v. 50.

saide mannor and call them and say 'Arise, sleepers of Mynehead' three times, 'and beare witness that the tithingman of Staunton hath done his duty'. And if he doe not the same, he shall forfeit 3*s.* 4*d.*" [1]

John Downe, son of Dr. Richard Downe, matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1665. In a list of the feodary rents due to the Honour of Dunster Castle in 1685, he is entered as liable for 2*s.* in respect of the manor of Staunton Fry. From him it passed to his brother Richard, at whose death in 1692, it was divided between his two sisters, Mary the wife of John Blake, and Anne the wife of Edward Carpenter. By a will dated in 1718, Anne Carpenter bequeathed her moiety to her nephew John Blake, who also got his mother's moiety. On his death without issue in 1727, three quarters of the manor passed to his sister Joan the relict of Lewis Gregory, of Barnstaple, and her descendants eventually obtained the other quarter which had passed to the children of her sister Elizabeth Lee. Her son, George Gregory, clerk, of Combe Martin in Devonshire, was succeeded by his son Lewis Gregory of Barnstaple, who, in December 1760, caused the manor of Staunton to be put up for sale by auction at Dunster. A purchaser was found in the person of Jonathan Hall, gentleman, who, however, did not long survive.

By a will executed in 1764, this Jonathan Hall bequeathed his manor of Staunton, otherwise Staunton Fry, to his great-nephew Richard Hall Clarke, subject to the life interests of the father and the two uncles of the legatee.

The old feodary rent of 2*s.* was duly paid in the following year. After clearing off all encumbrances

[1] Hancock's *Minehead*, p. 211.

on the Staunton estate, Richard Hall Clarke sold it outright to Henry Fownes Luttrell, in 1774, for 5,500*l.* Thus after many centuries it was reunited to the Dunster estate.

It has been seen above that the householders in Staunton were as such electors for the parliamentary borough of Minehead. Although they were but few in number, the formality of a court baron was maintained there down to the year 1854, and perhaps even later. There are now no traces of a manor-house and it is clear that from a very early period the successive lords of Staunton were absentees.

FRAGMENT OF ANCIENT GLASS,
DUNSTER CHURCH.

CHAPTER XV.

The Manor of Alcombe.

The history of Alcombe is singularly uneventful. Although a manor of very ancient origin, it has not had a resident lord since the Norman Conquest. In the reign of Edward the Confessor, it belonged to a certain Algar, whose estate there was assessed at one hide. Like many other places in the neighbourhood, it was granted by William the Conqueror to William de Mohun, and it was in his possession at the time of the Domesday Survey. The demesne then comprised three virgates, for the cultivation of which the lord had one plough and four serfs. The remaining virgate was in the hands of three villeins and four bordars, who had two ploughs. Mention is also made of eight acres of meadow and three furlongs of pasture. The live stock comprised a riding-horse, five beasts *(animalia)* and two hundred sheep. The yearly value of the estate was 20*s*., as in the previous reign. [1]

Between the years 1090 and 1100, William de Mohun gave the whole of Alcombe unreservedly to the Benedictine monks of Bath, and so it became part of the endowment of their cell at Dunster. [2] A questionable document of later date sets out minutely the boundaries of the hide of land there belonging

[1] *Domesday Book.*

[2] See page 383 above.

to them.[1] From the end of the eleventh century to the middle of the sixteenth, the history of Alcombe is almost blank, the manorial court-rolls and accounts having alike disappeared. Two incidental notices show that there was a chapel there near 'le Lynch' dedicated to St. Michael.[2] As part of the pre-Norman Hundred of Minehead and Cutcombe, Alcombe was exempt from suit to the hundred court of Carhampton, but its tithing-man was required to appear at the half-yearly 'law days' at Minehead.[3]

After the suppression of the monasteries by Henry the Eighth, John Luttrell, his agent, rendered a series of yearly accounts of the profits of the manor of Alcombe, divided under seven sub-heads. First came the rents of three freeholders, John Sydenham of Brympton being liable for 10*s* in respect of land called Wyneard and Pytte, Nicholas Bratton of Bratton for 8*s*. in respect of land at Sparkhayes in Porlock, and the heirs of Bythemore for 4*s*. in respect of land called Wilaller in Wythycombe; there was, however, considerable difficulty in collecting these amounts. Secondly, there were the rents of 'customary tenants,' or copyholders, of houses and cottages in Alcombe. Thirdly, there were rents from Budcombe (*sic*), Keynsham (*sic*), Cowbridge, Frackford and Marsh. Fourthly there were rents of 'conventionary tenants,' or leaseholders, in Alcombe. Fifthly, there were rents from lands and tenements in Dunster. Sixthly, there were rents from land in Carhampton. Lastly, there were the proceeds of the manorial courts.[4]

After remaining for some time in the possession of the Crown, the manor of Alcombe was, in 1561,

[1] *Two Chartularies of Bath*, L. 845; Dugdale's *Monasticon* vol. iv. p. 202.
[2] *Two Chartularies of Bath*, L. 940; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1467-1477*, p. 65.
[3] D. C. M. XXVI. 4, 6, 8; XXVII. 10, 11; XXVIII. 13, 15.
[4] Ministers' Accounts, Hen. VIII.

sold to Sir George Speke of Whitelackington, whose first wife was a daughter of Sir Andrew Luttrell of Dunster.[1] He died in March 1584, seised of it and of lands in and near Alcombe, which had formerly belonged to the Benedictine monks.[2] The same estate is mentioned in the inquisition taken after the death of his grandson, George Speke, fifty-six years later.[3] John Speke of Whitelackington is mentioned as one of the principal owners of land in Dunster in 1716.[4] Courts are stated to have been held at Alcombe in the early part of the eighteenth century about once in three years, but without any sworn jury or homage.

In or about 1722, Colonel Speke sold the whole of his estate at or near Alcombe in small sections. The 'royalty' of the manor, with various small 'chief rents' from freeholders, was then bought for about 20*l.* by Aldred Escott, whose family already owned property there.[5] In 1830, the manor belonged to the Rev. T. Sweet Escott of Hartrow, and it now belongs to his grandson, the Rev. W. Sweet Escott.[6] On the sale of the Speke estate, most of the tenants purchased their respective holdings, but in course of time many of these have been acquired by the Luttrells of Dunster Castle. Until the disfranchisement of Minehead, the votes of the householders of Alcombe, which was within that parliamentary borough, were of some importance.

In recent years, many new houses have been built at Alcombe, and there is now a chapel there served by the Vicar of Dunster and his curate. Several picturesque buildings of the sixteenth or seventeenth century remain.

[1] Originalia Roll, 4 Eliz. part 5, m. 105.
[2] Inq. post mortem, C. II. 205 (198).
[3] Inq. post mortem, C. II, 552 (126).
[4] D. C. B.
[5] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. iv. p. 102.
[6] Savage's *History of the Hundred of Carhampton*, pp. 449, 354.

CHAPTER XVI.

Lower Marsh.

The interesting old house now known as Lower Marsh stands near to the disused sea-port of Dunster and near to the modern railway-station. Although it is actually in the parish of Carhampton, its successive owners have always been so closely connected with Dunster that a brief account of them will not be out of place here.

Going back two full centuries before the erection of the existing house, we find in an 'extent' of the year 1266 of the manor of Dunster, including that of Carhampton :—

"Agnes of Marsh holds a ferling of land for sixteen capons to be rendered at Christmas and Easter, and she does suit like the said Gilbert (atte Cross), and she shall have in every year six cows and six calves in La Waterlete quit of herbage."[1]

In an undated rental which may be ascribed to the reign of Richard the Second, a certain John Ryvers is entered as rendering sixteen capons to the lady of the manor for his tenement at Marsh.[2] In 1411, John Ryvers and Robert Ryvers were amerced 6*d.* apiece in the court of the borough of Dunster for a breach of the peace against Thomas Yarte. The stick of the former was found to be of no value

[1] D.C.M. VIII. 4.

[2] D.C.M. XVIII. 4.

and the dagger of the latter fetched 4*d.* when sold by the constables, probably to the owner himself.[1] John Ryvers was still living in 1421, when he was entered as paying 3*s.* 4*d.* a year for pasture in the East Marsh, in addition to the sixteen capons for his freehold at Marsh. Being then woodward to Sir Hugh Luttrell, he had a house and twenty acres of land free from rent.[2]

Robert Ryvers of Marsh mentioned above may confidently be identified with the person of that name who was successively bailiff of Dunster and steward of the household and receiver-general to Sir John Luttrell, and afterwards to Dame Margaret his relict. That he was a man of considerable means is clear from the fact that he could advance large sums of money to her, taking silver vases and cups in part payment.[3] He died in April 1441, leaving as his co-heirs four young daughters. All his property, scattered in different parts of Dunster and Carhampton, had been conveyed to feoffees in the previous year, and it is not unlikely that most of it had been already sold.[4]

John Loty 'the younger' became a burgess of Dunster in 1440, and the former Ryvers estate was vested in him and his descendants for more than three centuries.[5] He was constable of Dunster Castle in the later years of the reign of Henry the Sixth, and the trusted feoffee of Sir James Luttell in various legal transactions.[6] Dying in September 1462, he was succeeded by a son of the same name.[7]

By the year 1481 at latest, the ancient rent of sixteen

[1] D.C.M. x. 3.
[2] D.C.M. xviii. 7.
[3] D.C.M. i. 17; xi. 3; xxxvii, 11, 12. See page 117 above.
[4] Inq. post mortem, 19 Henry VI. no. 31.
[5] D.C.M. xii. 2.
[6] D.C.M. xviii. 14; Inq. post mortem, 1 Edw. IV. no. 43.
[7] D.C.M. xii. 4; Inq. post mortem 2 Edw. IV. no. 23.

capons had been commuted into a monetary payment of 8*s.*[1] John Loty the third seems, like his father, to have had some connexion with Dunster Castle. In 1487, Nicholas Bratton of Bratton, esquire, and others were charged with having broken the pound-fold of Hugh Luttrell, esquire, at Nether Marsh, and taken away twenty ewes, while certain other persons were charged with having, on the same day, lain in wait for John Loty at Nether Marsh with intent to murder him.[2] An undated rental of the later part of the fifteenth century shows John Loty to have been by far the largest proprietor of burgages at Marsh and in the main streets of Dunster, paying upwards of 14*s.* a year at Martinmas to the lord of the borough.[3] Another rental of the year 1496 shows him to have also owned various pieces of land at Carhampton.[4] We may fairly suppose that the Lotys, like the Ryvers before them, as agents of successive Luttrells, had opportunities of acquiring little pieces of land on their own account by purchase or by foreclosure of mortgages.

The earlier portion of the house at Lower Marsh, including a little chapel over the porch, with three mullioned windows, two niches for statues and a carved wooden roof, may perhaps be ascribed to John Loty the third. He died in June 1499, leaving a widow Joan, who continued to occupy his free tenement then called 'Mershe Place.' She is known to have been the relict of John Bratton of Bratton in the parish of Minehead, and a statement that she was a daughter of Richard Chichester of Arlington in Devonshire is confirmed by the fact that Richard Chichester was a party to the settlement made upon her by her second

[1] D.C.M. XIX. 4; XX. 38.
[2] D.C.M. XXXI. 10.
[3] D.C.M. XV. 5.
[4] D.C.M. XIX. 4; XX. 38.

LOWER MARSH.

THE ENTRANCE.

husband. A bill which she filed in Chancery against her "unnatural" son, Robert Loty, shows that she had three daughters, Margaret, Elizabeth and Jane, whose interests she was anxious to protect. She lived to a considerable age and died in 1518.[1]

Robert Loty, son and heir of John, predeceased his mother. By a will dated and proved in 1510, he gave directions that he should be buried in the church of Carhampton, but he also left money to the light of St. Leonard in the Priory Church of Dunster and to the lights of Our Lady and St. George in the parochial part of that building.[2] Joan his relict had a large and varied experience of matrimony. Soon after his death, she became the wife of Silvester Sydenham of North Petherton, who died in June 1525.[3] Thirdly, she was "mareyed and espousyd" to John Luttrell, brother of Sir Andrew Luttrell of Dunster Castle. This union was, however, dissolved by a sentence in the legatine court of Cardinal Wolsey. The grounds of the divorce are not known, though it is stated to have been granted "according to the lawys of the church." The lady was a daughter of Thomas Flamank, one of the leaders of the Cornish rebellion of 1497, and not of kindred or affinity to the Luttrells. Perhaps there was some question of a precontract. At any rate she proceeded to marry a fourth husband, Peter Fauntleroy of Fauntleroy's Marsh in Dorset.

According to bills filed in the Court of Star Chamber, John Luttrell subjected his former wife and her new husband to systematic persecution during a great part of the year 1528. He and his men drove

[1] Inq. post mortem, C. II. 14 (139); E. II, 158 (12); Early Chancery Proceedings, bundle 332, nos. 97, 98; Chadwick Healey's *History of part of West Somerset*, pp. 329, 331; D.C.M. XXVIII. 19.

[2] *Somerset Medieval Wills*, (ed. Weaver) vol. ii, p. 142.

[3] Inq. post mortem, E. II. 913 (9).

[4] Star Chamber Proceedings, Hen. VIII. 15, nos. 32-34; 24, no. 188.

away three hundred of her sheep on one occasion and sixty on another. They killed her doves and pigeons. Entering the house called 'Foremarsh' at different times, they carried off deeds, household goods and even wearing apparel. They also flooded the lower chambers by cutting the dykes in the neighbourhood. The tenants on the estate were incited to disregard the Fauntleroys, and people in general were requested to withhold the necessary supplies of meat and drink. In modern parlance, a 'boycott' was proclaimed against them. Steps were also taken to deprive them of the consolations of religion. A certain William Horsman was sent to Dunster Church to break up the pew which Silvester Sydenham had made there by consent of the parishioners, and although the lady still had a domestic chaplain, John Luttrell prevented him from celebrating mass by carrying off the chalice.

To these and other charges, partly fictitious, John Luttrell would not make any detailed reply. He took his stand on the common law of the realm as administered by the regular judges. It is, however, worthy of remark that he describes the complainants as "Peter Fauntleroy and Jane supposed to be wyeff onto the said Peter." We may reasonably suppose that, in virtue of his marriage to the widow, he claimed the enjoyment of all the lands and rents that had been settled on Robert Loty and Joan his wife in April 1510.

Although the judgments of the court of Star Chamber are no longer extant, it seems clear that Joan Fauntleroy got the best of the controversy. She was entered as owing suit to the court of the Hundred of Carhampton in 1534, and to that of the borough of Dunster two years later.[1] At her death, the

[1] D.C.M. XIX. 6; XIII. 3.

whole of the property covered by the entail of 1510 passed to her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Poynes, or Poyntz, of Mettcombe in Devon, relict of Richard Poyntz, whose eldest son, Edward, married Margaret daughter of Amias Chichester of Arlington, a member of a well-known Roman Catholic family.[1] At the inquisition taken after the death of this Edward Poyntz in 1583, it was found that he held twenty-two burgages and two messuages in Dunster in free socage at a yearly rent of 1*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.* to George Luttrell, their actual value being twenty times as much. His messuage called 'Foremarsh,' with fifty acres adjoining, was found to be held of the manor of Carhampton at a fixed yearly rent of 15*s.* 4*d.* also far below the value.[2]

In accordance with directions contained in his will, Edward Poyntz was buried in the parish church of Dunster, apparently in the eastern part of the northern aisle of the nave. His epitaph was carved on a stone that had formerly been the slab of an altar.[3]

Robert Poyntz, the eldest surviving son of Edward and Margaret, obtained from his cousin Ursula Sydenham a grange and land at Leigh in the parish of Old Cleeve and went to live there. By a will dated and proved in 1611, he directed that his body should be buried in the church of Old Cleeve, though he also left money for the maintenance of the chapel at Leigh. He bequeathed his 'manor' of Foremarsh and other lands in Dunster and Carhampton to his eldest son Giles.[4]

[1] Chancery Proceedings, Series II, bundle 89, no. 43; *Brown's Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi, p. 32.

[2] Inq. post mortem, C. II. 203 (5). The rent of 15*s.* 4*d.* was composed of a 'high rent' of 12*s* and 3*s.* 4*d.* for common at the Marsh. D.C.M. III. 12.

[3] Savage's *History of the Hundred of Carhampton*, p. 411; Hancock's *Dunster Church and Priory*, p. 82; Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi, p. 32.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 34; Inq. post mortem, C. II. 324 (144).

This Giles Poyntz was admitted a student of the Inner Temple in 1619. Some twelve years later, he paid 30*l.* to the Crown for relief from the burden of knighthood.[1] He was afterwards proscribed by the authorities of the Commonwealth as a Papist and a Delinquent, and his estates were "forfeited for treason." Although his then wife Agnes was allowed to retain a fifth part of them, his own petition for leave to compound was rejected, and his lands at Leigh, Dunster and Carhampton were, in 1653, sold to Thomas Wharton of Gray's Inn. The farm called Lower Marsh was at that time rented by Nicholas Blake of Dunster.[2] In the same year Giles Poyntz married a second wife, Prudence, daughter of George Rowe of Staverton.[3] By a will made after the Restoration, he bequeathed 20*s.* apiece to his Catholic servants, and 200*l.* to be paid in a manner known by his wife, meaning presumably for the maintenance of a priest at Leigh.[4]

Clement Poyntz, who succeeded on the death of his father Giles in 1660, died without issue in 1685, having bequeathed all his lands to his mother Prudence. The heir-at-law, however, Giles Poyntz of Arlington, son of Edward, son of John, a younger son of Edward Poyntz of Dunster mentioned above, seems to have questioned the validity of the will. The widow therefore took it up to London. When she arrived, the town was in a turmoil on account of the flight of James the Second. Fearing therefore that her precious documents would not be safe at her lodgings in Drury Lane, she deposited them in the

[1] *Somerset & Dorset Notes & Queries*, vol. iv, p. 118.

[2] *Calendar of Committee for Compounding*, p. 3010; S. P. Dom. Interregnum, G. 167. f. 1.

[3] Vivian's *Visitations of Devon*, p. 660.

[4] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi, p. 36.

house of the Spanish Ambassador in Wild Street, close by. She could hardly have chosen a worse place. "The wrabble, being very tumultuous," broke into the Embassy and "ryffled it," scattering the contents of her trunk "up and down the streets." Some she managed to recover, and the will was eventually upheld.[1] By her own will made in 1691, she bequeathed her property at Leigh, her manor and lordship of Dunster and Carhampton, and her burgage tenements at Dunster to Robert Rowe of Kingston in the parish of Staverton in Devonshire, who seems to have been her nephew. According to one account, she had made arrangements for the maintenance of a Benedictine chaplain at Leighland who was to have his diet free, a horse, and a salary of 7*l.* However this may be, her will contained a provision that, notwithstanding the unkindness shown to her by Giles Poyntz of Bachet in Arlington, and in consideration of his relationship to her late husband, he should be allowed to have her lands on payment of 600*l.* to Robert Rowe, her principal legatee.[2]

Giles Poyntz did not take full advantage of the option thus given to him, but, by some amicable agreement with Rowe, he obtained the property at Dunster and Carhampton, thenceforward quite separate from the property at Leighland and Leigh Barton. In a will executed in 1714, he describes himself as "of Yarnscombe" in the county of Devon, and he was buried there in the following year. His manor, "or reputed manor," of Foremarsh was by this will put into the hands of trustees, but his relict, Anne, got the barton of Marsh, that is to say Lower Marsh, and some land around it, for her life, in lieu

[1] Chancery Proceedings, Reynardson 421, no. 120; 425, no. 161.

[2] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi, p. 38.

of dower, with 5*l.* a year out of "conventionary and other rents of the said manor."[1]

In the early part of the reign of George the First, this Anne Poyntz was registered as one of the Roman Catholic landowners in Somerset.[2] There is nothing to show whether she ever kept a priest at Lower Marsh, to minister in the little chapel over the porch. It is more likely that a priest came over occasionally from Leighland, where there was usually a Benedictine or a Jesuit in residence until the early part of the nineteenth century.[3] A cursory glance at a Poyntz pedigree, showing three Prudences, three Temperances, and a Christian, might suggest that the family had a leaning towards Puritanism, if intermarriages with Chichester and Rowe did not show it to have been Catholic. Several members of it are recorded to have been buried at Arlington "without a priest," that is to say "unattended by a lawful presbyter of the Church of England."[4]

Giles Poyntz, the eldest son of Giles and Anne mentioned above, was buried at Dunster in May 1731, when most of the property passed under an entail to his brother John. Anne, their mother died three years later. When Henry Fownes Luttrell was making the Park at Dunster, he might have been put to some inconvenience if John Poyntz had refused to part with a little piece of land near Hensty. By this time the family had apparently ceased to reside in West Somerset. John Poyntz was a member of Gray's Inn; one of his unmarried sisters lived at Weston in Buckinghamshire, and another at Arling-

[1] P.C.C. Fagg. f. 163.

[2] Oliver's *Collections illustrating the history of the Catholic Religion*, p. 172. Cosin's *Names of Roman Catholics, Nonjurors, &c.* (1862) p. 100.

[3] Oliver's *Collections*, pp. 62, 181, 182, 229, 239, 242, 263, 312, 334, 341, 356, 401, 415, 432.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 387.

ton.[1] All their houses and lands in Dunster and Carhampton were let, mostly for lives. Some five years later, in 1760, they agreed to sell them outright to Henry Fownes Luttrell for the very low sum of 2400*l.*[2] The fine levied for this purpose enumerates 18 messuages, 25 cottages, 40 gardens, 20 orchards, 150 acres of arable land, 30 of meadow, 80 of pasture, 10 of wood, 100 of furze and heath, 20 of moor, and common of pasture for all manner of cattle in Dunster Marsh, East Marsh, Lutts (Loty's) Marsh, Coleborrow, Croydon, Townswood, Holly Hill, etc. together with the 'manor' of Foremarsh. More precise particulars are given in the 'recovery.' The farm at Lower Marsh alone yielded 49*l.* a year and, the property comprised houses in High Street, New Street, St. George's Street, West Street and Gallock-street, and many isolated pieces of land adjacent to others belonging to the Luttrell estate.[3] From every point of view the transaction was very advantageous to the purchaser and his successors. Of course they lost the ancient 'chief rent' of 12*s.* and the burgage rents of 1*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.* due from Poyntz and his predecessors.

[1] In an elaborate but not too accurate *Memoir of the Family of Poyntz* (p. 278), Sir John Maclean has confounded John Poyntz of Gray's Inn, the vendor of Foremarsh, with his namesake and contemporary, who became a Jesuit in 1732 under the name of Beaumont.

[2] Feet of Fines, Somerset, Easter 33 Geo. II.

[3] Recovery Rolls, Hilary 33 Geo. II. m. 95; Trinity 33-34 Geo. II. m. 50.

ELIZABETHAN CHALICE AND PATEN,
DUNSTER CHURCH.

APPENDIX A.

The Mohuns of Ham Mohun in Dorset.

Among the estates granted by the Conqueror to William de Mohun was one at Ham in Dorset, which in course of time came to be known as Ham Mohun, since corrupted into Hammoon.[1] William de Mohun the Fourth of Dunster appears to have granted it to his brother Geoffrey, to be held of the Honour of Dunster on the usual conditions of military service. Geoffrey, however, got into trouble in the reign of Richard the First through adhering to the King's brother, John, Count of Mortain, and his lands were forfeited. For more than four years from 1193, the King's ministers gathered the profits of the manor of Ham, usually reckoned at 7*l.*[2]

In the summer of 1198, John de Mohun, a brother of Geoffrey, succeeded in obtaining possession of Ham, on promising to pay 30*l.* to the Crown, a sum six times as large as that which was ordinarily exacted by way of relief on succession to one knight's fee.[3] Furthermore, in 1201, he undertook to pay 20 marks for seisin of land at Brinkley, in Cambridgeshire, which had been given to him by his brother William, but afterwards taken into the King's hand.[4] The accounts for scutage in that year show that he held two fees, one doubtless at Brinkley and the other at Ham.[5] Some seven years later, his rights at both these places were challenged by his nephew, Reynold de Mohun, who had succeeded to the Dunster estate after a long minority. There

[1] The pedigree of this family given in Hutchins's *History of Dorset* is a tissue of errors.

[2] Pipe Rolls.

[3] *Ibid.*; *Rotulus Cancellarii*, p. 204.

[4] *Rotuli de Oblatis*, p. 136; *Rotulus Cancellarii*, p. 142.

[5] *Rotuli de Oblatis*, p. 170; *Rotulus Cancellarii*, p. 143.

were two separate suits between them. In one, Reynold claimed that Ham ought to belong to him in demesne, possibly on the ground that the King's grant of it to John had ceased to be valid when he came of age, while John maintained that Reynold was merely the overlord, as owner of the Honour of Dunster. [1] The other suit seems to have turned upon a question whether John had ever received actual seisin of the land at Brinkley. In this case the court decided that Godeheut de Mohun, John's mother, had died seised of it in fee and that Reynold was her heir. [2] Eventually, an arrangement seems to have been made that John de Mohun should hold Ham and Brinkley alike under the lord of Dunster.

This Sir John de Mohun was deprived of his lands in Dorset for siding with the barons against King John, but they were restored to him in 1217, when he made his peace with the government of Henry the Third. [3] He died in 1221. [4] On his death-bed he had given instructions that he should be buried at Salisbury, in the cathedral church of the diocese in which he usually lived, but as the corpse rested for a night in the church of Bruton, the Prior and Convent of that place took upon themselves to inter it there among the bodies of his ancestors and cousins. They thereby incurred the wrath of the Bishop and the Chapter of Salisbury, and they eventually had to make public apology, undertaking to hand over the corpse or such part of it as might be claimed. [5]

William de Mohun, son and heir of John, arranged, in 1222, to pay 12 marks to the Crown by way of relief on succession to lands which are described as held in chief, but which were more probably in the hands of the King as guardian of the heir of the overlord, Reynold de Mohun of Dunster. [6] Under the name of 'William de Moun of Hamme', he, in 1252, obtained licence to hunt the hare, the

[1] Curia Regis Roll, no. 48, mm, 6, 11; no. 50, mm. 6, 8, 11.

[2] *Ibid.* no. 47, m. 3; no. 48, m. 7*d.*

[3] *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, vol. i. pp. 300, 303.

[4] *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium*, vol. i. p. 77.

[5] *Sarum Charters and Documents* (R. S.), pp. 225, 226. If the transcript is correct, the date of the apology is between 1228 and 1235. The editor has erroneously identified "J. de Mayna" with Reynold de Mohun's son John, who was living in 1254.

[6] *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium*, vol, i. p. 79.

fox, and the cat in the forests of Dorset, and exemption from service on juries and the like. [1] He occurs in connexion with Brinkley in 1234, and, in 1253, he received a royal charter for a market and fair at that place. [2] He is described as a knight in 1255.[3] He was still living in 1261, when the day of the market was altered from Wednesday to Tuesday, at the instance of the King's daughter Beatrice. [4]

Sir William de Mohun was the last of the family to hold the estate in Cambridgeshire together with that in Dorset. In 1285, it was found that Andrew de Mohun held a knight's fee at Brinkley, and John de Mohun a knight's fee at Ham, under John de Mohun of Dunster, recently deceased. [5] Andrew de Mohun of Brinkley made a settlement on his wife Maud in 1301. [6] A later Andrew occurs in connexion with Cambridgeshire in 1353. [7] Brinkley had long ere this ceased to be reckoned as one of the fees held of the Honour of Dunster. Nicholas Mohun occurs as parson of the church of Ham Mohun in 1297. [8]

After the time of William de Mohun, the manor of Ham Mohun was held of the Honour of Dunster, by service of one knight's fee, by a series of Mohuns named John. The second of these Johns de Mohun died early in 1331, leaving a son and heir of the same name aged twenty-three. [9] This John de Mohun, the third, did homage to the King for the manor of Ham Mohun, the lord of Dunster being a minor and a ward of the Crown. [10] He married firstly Matthia daughter of Sir William Stokes, but had no issue by her. They were both living in 1344. His second wife Hawis survived him and afterwards married Walter Perle. [11] John de Mohun the fourth, son of John and Hawis, left a son of the same name, who died in 1407. His relict, Sibyl, soon took another husband, John Harryes. [12] As the

[1] Patent Roll, 36 Hen. III, m. 4.
[2] Close Roll, 18 Hen. III. m. 17*d*., Patent Roll, 37-38 Hen. III, m. 11.
[3] Patent Roll, 39 Hen. III. part 2. m. 13*d*.
[4] Charter Roll, 45 Hen. III. m. 1.
[5] Inq. post mortem, C. Edw. I. file 43 (6).
[6] Feet ot Fines, Cambridge, 29 Edw. I.
[7] Close Roll, 27 Edw. III. m. 19*d*.
[8] Patent Roll, 25 Edw. I. m. 13*d*.
[9] Inq. post mortem, C. Edw. III. file 29, no. 6.
[10] *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1330-1333*, p. 448.
[11] Originalia Roll, 27 Edw. III; Feet of Fines, Dorset, Easter 42 Edw. III.
[12] Assize Roll, no. 1519, mm. 26, 27, 31.

heir, John de Mohun the sixth, was only three years of age, he became a ward of his overlord, Sir Hugh Luttrell of Dunster. The nett income of the manor of Ham Mohun was at this time valued at 8*l*, and, in February 1409, Sir Hugh Luttrell granted two thirds of the manor to Thomas Hody, to be held during the nonage of the heir at a yearly rent of 8 marks.[1]

John Mohun the sixth and last was for some years High Steward of the borough of Dorchester.[2] He died in May 1479, seised of the manor of Whitchurch in Hampshire, and the manors of Holcombe, Godmanston, Ham Mohun, Fifehead Quyntyn, Child Okeford, Wolveton, Upwey (Wey Bayhous), and Combe Deverell and various lands in Dorset. He was succeeded by his grandson, John Trenchard, aged over twenty-six, son of his daughter Christine.[3]

The Mohuns of Fleet in Dorset.

A branch of the Mohun family was seated for six generations at Fleet near Weymouth. It might be supposed to have sprung from the Mohuns of Ham Mohun in the same county, if the arms which it bore were not more similar to those of the Mohuns of Dunster. A pedigree compiled in 1606 by William Dethick, Garter King of Arms, but not registered at the Heralds' College, appears to be the authority for deducing its origin from Sir Robert Mohun of Porlock, the second son of Sir John Mohun of Dunster who died in 1330.[4] This Sir Robert is stated to have been the great-great-grandfather of John Mohun of Ottery in Devon, father of Richard Mohun, father of Robert Mohun with whom the official pedigree begins.[5]

[1] D.C.M. iv. 15, 16, 22.

[2] *Municipal Records of Dorchester*, pp. 291, 296, 298, 442.

[3] Inq. post mortem. 19 Edw. IV. no. 51 ; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1467-1477*, p. 293.

[4] See page 40 above.

[5] Genealogical details in this section not authenticated by specific references are based upon the Heralds' *Visitation of Dorset, 1620*, and the account of Fleet given in Hutchins's *History of Dorset*, vol. ii. pp. 741-749.

Robert Mohun of Baunton died on the 14th of November 1580, seised of the manors of Loders Maltravers, Mangerton, and Fleet, the advowson of Fleet, the rectory of East Chaldon, and other property in the neighbourhood.[1] A brass in the church of Fleet represents him in armour, but without a helmet, kneeling at a desk, with nine sons kneeling behind, and his wife with eight daughters similarly kneeling opposite.[2] The inscription runs :—

> "*Hic jacet Margarita uxor quondam castissima viri dignissimi Roberti Mohun alias Moun de Bothenhampton in comitatu Dorcestrensi armigeri, quæ quidem Margarita fuit filia et cohæres Stephani Hyde de Hyde in eodem etiam comitatu armigeri. Hæc* 17 *liberorum fælicissima fuit parens. Vixit annos circiter* 90, *ac in Domino requiescit. Obiit primo die Decembris anno regni serenissimi Jacobi Anglorum regis* 1° *ac Scotiæ* 36°, *salutis* 1603."

Although there were no less than seventeen children, the names of only three are known :—

Robert, heir to his father.

Maximilian, heir to his brother.

John, matriculated at St. Alban Hall, Oxford, in 1586, and was admitted a student of the Middle Temple in 1591. His daughter Anne died in 1600.

Robert Mohun, son and heir of Robert and Margaret, matriculated at St. Alban Hall in 1577, being then nineteen years of age. He afterwards married Meliora daughter of ... Pitt of Blandford, and by her had issue three daughters :—

Meliora, born in 1587, married to ... Daccomb.

Margaret, born in 1588, married to ... Hele.

Anne, born in 1594, married to ... Hele.

Robert Mohun the second died in 1598, when the entailed estates passed to his brother.[3]

Maximilian Mohun matriculated at St. Alban Hall in 1581, being then sixteen years of age. He afterwards became a student at the Middle Temple. He married, on the 4th of October 1593, Anne daughter and coheiress of

[1] Inq. post mortem. C. II. 193 (45).

[2] An engraving of this brass is given in Hamilton Rogers's *Memorials of the West*, p. 330.

[3] Inq. post mortem, C. II. 252 (35).

John Churchill of Corston.[1] They and their five sons and eight daughters are represented on a brass at Fleet bearing the following inscription :—

> "*Hic jacet Maximilianus Mohun armiger, filius Roberti Mohun alias Moun de Bothenhampton in comitatu Dorcestrensi, qui quidem Maximilianus una cum uxore castissima Anna filia et cohærede Johannis Churchill de Corston generosi tredecim liberorum fœlicissimus fuit parens. Vixit annos circiter* 48 *ac, vita bene beateque peracta, in Domino requiescit. Obiit xiii°. die Octobris anno regni serenissimi Jacobi Anglorum regis x°. ac Scotiæ xlv° anno salutis* 1612."[2]

The names of twelve of the children are known :—

Maximilian, heir to his father.

Churchill, matriculated at Oxford in April 1613, with his elder brother. He died without issue.

Robert, of Buckham near Beaminster, a Major in the Royalist army.[3] He was taken prisoner near Bridgewater, and afterwards compounded for his estate.[4] In 1634, he married Elizabeth daughter of John Hillary of Meerhay.

John, born in 1605.

George, born in 1607.

Mary, born in 1595, married in 1610 to Cornelius Weston of Colyton in Devon.[5]

Elizabeth, married to John Gollop.[6]

Anne.

Margaret, born in 1606.

Eleanor.

Thomasine, born in 1610.

Catherine, born in 1612.

Maximilian Mohun the second was born in November 1596, and matriculated at Oxford in April 1613. In 1631, he paid 10*l.* for exemption from the duty of taking knighthood.[7] By reason of his adherence to the King in the

[1] Hutchins's *History of Dorset*, vol. ii. p. 45.

[2] This brass is engraved in Rogers's *Memorials of the West*. The date of the death is placed ten days later in the inquisition. (C. II. 330, no. 94.)

[3] *Minute-books of Dorset Standing Committee*, p. 366.

[4] *Calendar of Committee for Compounding*, p. 1684.

[5] Vivian's *Visitations of Devon*, p. 780.

[6] Hutchins's *History of Dorset*, vol. ii. p. 113.

[7] *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, vol. iv. p. 18.

Civil War, his estate was sequestered for about seven years, during part of which he was in prison at Weymouth. He was eventually allowed to compound for 1540*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*[1] He died in 1673. By Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Francis Chaldecot of Whiteway, he had issue ten children, the names of six of whom are known :—

Maximilian, baptized at his mother's old home at Steple in March 1622. He was living in 1651, but he predeceased his father.

Francis, heir to his father.

Robert, a Captain in the Royal Navy. He died in 1667.

William, who obtained a small property at Portishead in Somerset, and married Mary daughter of Richard Morgan of that place. He died on the 23rd of March 1681. His wife survived until the 25th of July 1692. Their only son, Maximilian, seems to have died young, as their property passed to Elizabeth their daughter, who married Sir Edward Fust, bart.[2]

Edith, who died in 1672.

Elizabeth, who married Robert Yardly.

Francis Mohun was born about 1628. He was one of the principal men in Dorset who refused to support the repeal of the penal laws in 1688.[3] A monument to him at Fleet is more commendable for its brevity than for its Latinity :—

"*Vir dignissimus, Franciscus Mohun armiger, filius Maximiliani qui fuit filius Maximiliani Mohun, obiit* 25 *Feb.* 1711-12mo, *anno ætatis suæ* 84°.

Prisca fides, cultusque Dei, patriæque ruentis
Fidus amor promævum excoluere virum."

Eleanor his wife, daughter of Ralph Sheldon of Stanton in Derbyshire, and niece of Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, survived until 1722. She bore him three children :—

[1] *Calendar of Committee for Compounding*, p. 1633.

[2] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. ii. p. 15 ; vol. v. pp. 95, 98 ; Collinson's *History of Somerset*, vol. iii. p. 145.

[3] *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, vol. v. p. 53.

Gilbert Maximilian, heir to his father.
Catherine, born in 1688, married in 1702 to Sir Edward Fust, bart.
Elizabeth, born in 1671, married in 1698 to Robert Broadrepp of Mapperton. She died in 1708. [1]

Gilbert Maximilian Mohun was born in 1675. He married firstly, in 1696, Elizabeth daughter of ... Squibb, and by her had issue two children :—
Gilbert Maximilian, who died young.
Elizabeth, born in 1700, married in 1720 to Thomas Lyte of Lytescary in Somerset. [2] Their descendants are the representatives of the Mohuns of Fleet.

After the death of his first wife in 1701, he married Sarah daughter of Thomas Cooper of Sherborne. He died in 1721 ; she died in 1735. By this second marriage there were four sons and two daughters.

Gilbert Maximilian Mohun the second is stated to have been born in 1706. When, however, he matriculated at Hart Hall, Oxford, in 1726, he was entered as sixteen years of age. He married Dorothy daughter of Roger Thompson and relict of Sir Edward Fust, bart. She died in 1734. He died without issue in 1739, when the estate passed to his brother Francis, an intermediate brother, Thomas, having died in 1727.

Francis Mohun was born in 1713. He was third Lieutenant on the *Victory* in October 1744, when the ship was lost, and the estate passed to Robert, the youngest of the four brothers. [3]

Robert Mohun, the last male member of this branch of the Mohun family, was born in 1715. He died unmarried in 1758, and the remains of the property were then divided between his two sisters. His father's eldest daughter, Elizabeth Lyte, being only his half-sister, was not accounted one of the coheirs. Fleet went to his sister Sarah, the wife of Thomas Farwell and afterwards of John Gould of Upway.

[1] Hutchins's *History of Dorset*, vol. ii. p. 159.
[2] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. iv. p. 117 ; *Proceedings of the Somerset Archæological Society*, vol. xxxviii. p. 81.
[3] Admiralty List Book 24.

She died without issue in August 1774, aged 63.[1] In the absence of any effectual entail, her share eventually passed to a son of her second husband by a former wife, not descended from the Mohuns. Judith, the youngest child of Gilbert Maximilian Mohun the first, married firstly Edward Tizard and secondly Henry Worral. Surviving them, she died in December 1788, aged 71.[2]

The Mohuns of Hall and Boconnoc in Cornwall.[3]

Sir Reynold de Mohun, a younger son of Sir John de Mohun of Dunster, the third of that name, by Ada Tibetot his wife, seems to have been born at the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth. The earliest notice of him is in 1323, when he received royal pardon for his share in the rebellion of the Earl of Lancaster and Roger Mortimer.[4] In the two following years he was in Guienne on the King's service.[5] He went abroad again in 1344, in the company of Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby.[6] From his father he received the manor of Ugborough in Devonshire, but only for the term of his life.[7]

There is a story of very doubtful origin that Sir Reynold de Mohun, coming into Fowey harbour with soldiers bound for Ireland, let fly a hawk at some game which came down in the garden at Hall, and that he thus first met the daughter of the owner, Elizabeth Fitzwilliam, whom he afterwards made his wife.[8] The circumstances connected with their marriage are so singular as to justify an attempt

[1] Hutchins's *History of Dorset*, vol. i. p. 345.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 344.

[3] Genealogical details in this section not authenticated by specific references are based upon Vivian's *Visitations of Cornwall.*

[4] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1321-1324*, p 351; *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1323-1327*, p. 63.

[5] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1324-1327*, pp. 12, 178; *Calendar of Close Rolls 1323-1327*, p. 376.

[6] Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 11.

[7] Feet of Fines, Devon, 21 Edw. III.

[8] Gilbert's *History of Cornwall*, vol. ii. p. 410.

to unravel a very complicated story out of legal and episcopal records of the time.

In the first place it is clear that Elizabeth Fitzwilliam was a considerable heiress, and that Sir John Daunay, a powerful neighbour, had designs upon her property. In July 1333, the Bishop of the diocese directed Master Richard of Wideslade, Treasurer of Exeter, and Master John of Stoke, Canon of Glasney, to proceed with a suit, partly heard, for a divorce between Dame Elizabeth "of Bodenneke" and Sir Reynold de Mohun. The lady so styled was certainly Elizabeth Fitzwilliam, but it is not clear whether she herself took any active part in the business. When her husband obtained a royal writ of *supersedeas* against Stoke, Wideslade was ordered to proceed alone if necessary. In the following January, however, a fresh commission was issued to Henry Bloyou, Canon of Exeter, and Bartholomew de Castro, rector of St. Ives. The former, it may be observed, had recently been rector of Cornwood, a living in the gift of Sir John Daunay. Under his influence perhaps, these two churchmen pronounced a decree of divorce, on the canonical ground that the lady had been previously contracted to Thomas de Mohun, a brother of Reynold.[1] From them the husband appealed to the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, whence a further appeal was carried to the Roman Court. The Bishop of Bath and Wells and the Abbot of Glastonbury, being appointed the papal delegates in the case, referred it to the Abbots of Buckland and Tavistock, who eventually re-affirmed the original decree of divorce.

At this stage of the proceedings, the lady seems to have fallen into the power of Sir John Daunay, who is stated to have 'eloigned' her from Mohun. He seems furthermore to have got her married to a certain Henry Deneys. According to Daunay, Mohun quit-claimed to him all his right in Arworthal and several other Cornish manors, in February 1336, and Elizabeth "daughter of Sir John Fitzwilliam" did the like seven months later. His statements as to this were, however, flatly contradicted. There is clear evidence that, in May 1337, a fine was levied in the

[1] The chronicler of Newenham Abbey does not give any Thomas in his genealogy of the Mohuns. *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvii. p. 89.

King's court, by which Bodennek and another manor were settled on Henry Deneys and Elizabeth his wife, for the term of her life only, with remainder to Sir John Daunay.

It may be presumed that, after this, Mohun made a successful appeal to the Pope, for, in February 1346, he and Elizabeth his wife, now re-united to him, brought a suit against Daunay, Deneys and others, to recover lands of her inheritance of which they had been deprived. At the trial, Deneys, although living, did not put in an appearance, but the proceedings were stopped by the death of the principal defendant. The Mohuns had therefore to bring a fresh suit against Lady Daunay and others. Eventually they recovered enormous damages from two parsons who had been the accomplices or tools of Sir John Daunay.[1] Half a century later, Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, as grandson and heir of Sir John Daunay, made an attempt to wrest from the Mohun family the property of which the reversion had been settled on him by the fine of 1337.[2]

Sir Reynold de Mohun was succeeded by a son named JOHN, who is stated by the Heralds to have married Joan St. Aubyn. Legal proceedings of the year 1397 show that he left a widow named Isabel who married Sir Henry Ivelcombe, and a son named Thomas, who was then under age.[3]

This THOMAS MOHUN was in possession of some of the Fitzwilliam inheritance in 1428.[4] In the church of Lanteglos by Fowey there is a low altar-tomb under an obtuse arch, with the effigy in brass of a man in plate-armour and the following inscription :—

"Hic jacent Thomas de Mohun ac Johannes pater ejus filius et heres Reginaldi de Mohun militis et Elizabethe uroris sue, filie et heredis Johannis Fitzwilliam militis, qui [quidem Reginaldus fuit] secundus frater Johannis ultimi Domini de Mohun. Et predictus Thomas obiit... die mensis... anno Domini

[1] *Register of Bishop Grandison*, pp. 72, 410, 701, 721, 727, 1309; Placita de Banco, 346, m. 193; *Year Books, 20 Edw. III.* part. 1. pp. 270-289; Feet of Fines, Cornwall, 10 Edw. III; Inq. post mortem, 20 Edw. III. no. 33; Assize Roll, 1434, m. 3; *Feudal Aids*, vol. 1. pp. 214, 215, 218.

[2] Placita de Banco, 545, m. 332.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Feudal Aids*, vol. i. pp. 223, 229-231, 236.

millesimo CCCC.... Quorum animabus propicietur Deus. Amen."

The feet of the figures rest upon a lion, beneath which there is the following verse :—

"Pervideant cuncti sic transit gloria mundi".

The brass must have been executed during the lifetime of Thomas Mohun, whose relations did not take the trouble to supply the exact date of his death in the middle of the fifteenth century. With regard to the inscription, it should be observed that Sir Reynold de Mohun was not the brother, but the uncle, of the last Mohun of Dunster, and that, according to the contemporary chronicler at Newenham, he was the fourth son, not the second. Thomas Mohun, the subject of the brass, is stated by the Heralds to have married Elizabeth daughter and heiress of Richard Hayre, whose surname in this form is probably a phonetic rendering of Eyr.[1]

William Mohun, son and heir of Thomas, is stated by the Heralds to have married Joan Cavell. Some legal proceedings taken by him, in 1442, against the relict and the heir of Nicholas Cavell of Bokelly are not inconsistent with a theory that his wife was a daughter of this Nicholas.[2]

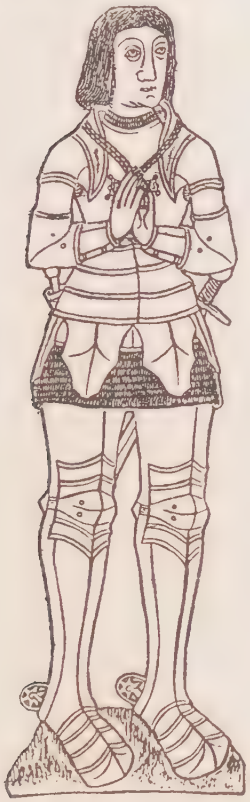
William Mohun the second, stated to have been son of William and Joan, married Isabel daughter of Sir Hugh Courtenay of Boconnoc, eventually one of the coheiresses of her brother, Edward, Earl of Devon.[3] They left issue John and Thomas.

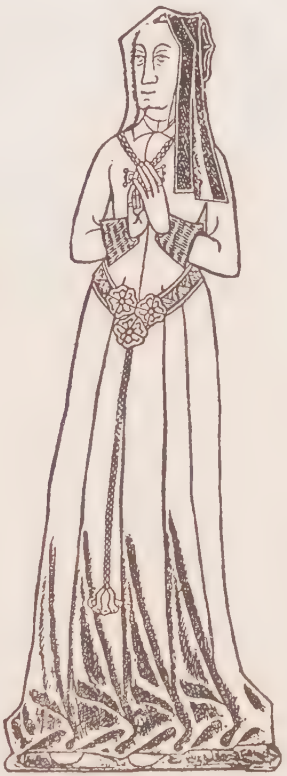
[1] Richard Eyr of Trewelesik is mentioned in a fine of 1370; Sir William Mohun held land there in 1588.

[2] Maclean's *History of Trigg Minor*, vol. ii. p. 159.

[3] Inq. post mortem, C. II. 113 (4; 261).

John Mohun, son of William and Isabel, married Anne daughter of Richard Coode of Morval. They both died of the sweating sickness in September 1508. In the church of





Lanteglos there is a brass showing the effigies of John Mohun in armour, but without a helmet, Anne his wife, their five sons and their four daughters. It bears the following inscription :—

Hic jacent tumulata corpora Johannis Mohun armigeri et Anne uxoris ejus filie Ricardi Code armigeri et qui quidem Johannes fuit filius et heres Willelmi Mohun armigeri ac Florencie uxoris ejus unius sororum Edwardi Courtney Comitis Devonie et qui quidem Johannes et Anna obierunt mense Septembris

infra viginti quatuor horas ex infirmitate vocata Sudore, anno Domini mdviij, quorum animabus propitietur Deus. [1]

The brass is not believed to be quite contemporary, and the name of John Mohun's mother is incorrectly given. [2] Of the nine children represented the names of six are known :—

John, who died on the 4th of January 1516, without issue. [3]
Edmund, who died young.
Roger, who died young.
Reynold, heir to his brother John.
Isabel, who married in 1537 John Nicolls of Penvoyce. [4]
Joan, who married John Rosuggan of Milledar. [5]

Reynold Mohun, fourth son of John and Anne, succeeded his brother John in 1516, being then eight or nine years of age. [6] He was one of the esquires of the body to Edward the Sixth. In 1552 and again in 1559 he served the office of Sheriff of Cornwall. [7] In 1566, he bought Boconnoc, which became the principal residence of the family. [8] He died on the 22nd of April 1567, possessed of considerable property in the two western counties. [9] By Joan his wife, daughter of Sir William Trevanian, he had issue four sons and as many daughters :—

William his heir.
Hugh, who died without issue.
Reynold, who died without issue.
John, who died without issue.
Isabel, who married Matthew Trewynard.
Jane, who married John Treffry of Treffry.

[1] Mr. Hamilton Rogers has given three different versions of this inscription. (*Sepulchral Effigies of Devon*, pp. 115, 329 ; *Memorials of the West*, p. 277.)

[2] Haines's *Monumental Brasses*, vol. ii. p. 40.

[3] Inq. post mortem, C. II. 78 (116.) Col. Vivian charges the Heralds with having omitted a generation. (*Visitations of Cornwall*, p. 324.) The error is his own, as the inquisition taken in 1516 (not 1517) shows that the younger John Mohun was succeeded by his brother Reynold.

[4] Vivian, p. 344 ; Maclean's *History of Trigg Minor*, vol. iii. p. 351.

[5] Vivian, p. 411.

[6] Patent Roll, 6 Edw. VI. part 9.

[7] *List of Sheriffs*, p. 22.

[8] Gilbert's *History of Cornwall*, vol. i. p. 65.

[9] Inq. post mortem, C. II. 150 (186.

Anne, who married Francis Bellot of Corsham in Wiltshire.
Honor.

William Mohun, son and heir of Reynold, was Sheriff of Cornwall in 1571 and 1577.[1] He was knighted in 1583.[2] He died on the 6th of April 1588.[3] Elizabeth his first wife, daughter and heiress of Sir John Horsey, had borne him two sons and a daughter :—

Reynold his heir.
William, who married Honor, daughter and coheiress of John Trencreke, and had issue :—
Nathaniel, married at Constantine in July 1624 to Jane daughter of Thomas Trefusis.
Philip, who died young.
Thomas.
Mary, married at Constantine in 1626 to Thomas Trefusis.
Edith, baptized at Fowey in August 1566, married to Sir Ralph Horsey.

By a second wife, Anne, daughter of William Reskimer and relict of John Trelawny of Menheniot, Sir William Mohun had issue three sons and two daughters :—

William, baptized at Fowey on the 1st of September 1571. He died between June 1611 and February 1612, leaving a son Reynold.
Thomas.
Arundel, baptized at Fowey on the 16th of September 1575. He died without issue.
Jane, married firstly to Humphrey Courtenay of Molland and secondly to Sir John Speccot.
Bridget, married to Sir Thomas Arundel of Tolverne.

Reynold Mohun, eldest son of Sir William, was more than twenty-three years of age at the time of his father's death. He was knighted on the 25th of March 1599, and created a baronet on the 25th of November 1611, a few months after the institution of that order. In 1614, he was returned to the House of Commons for East Looe and in

[1] *List of Sheriffs*, p. 23.
[2] Shaw's *Knights of England*, vol. ii. p. 82.
[3] Inq. post mortem, C. II. 218 (43).

1625 for Lostwithiel.[1] The communion table in the church at Boconnoc bears an inscription :—"Made by me Sir Raynold Mohun, 1621." Sir Reynold Mohun married firstly, in 1589, Mary daughter of Sir Henry Killigrew. By her he had issue an only son :—

William, the donor of an eared silver pot to Exeter College, Oxford, in 1606.[2] He proceeded B.A. in 1608, and was in that year admitted a student of the Middle Temple. He died unmarried in 1613.

By a second wife, Philippa daughter of Sir John Hele of Wembury, Sir Reynold Mohun had issue :—

John, his heir.

Elizabeth, baptized at St. Pinnock on the 10th of February 1593, married to Sir John Trelawny of Trelawny.

By a third wife, Dorothy daughter of John Chudleigh of Ashton, he had issue three sons and four daughters :—

Reynold, born about 1605. A bowl of silver gilt at Exeter College was inscribed—"The gift of Rainold Mohun to Exeter College, 1622."[3] He proceeded B.A. in 1624, and was admitted a student of the Middle Temple in the following year. A settlement was made in 1634 in consideration of his intended marriage to Mary daughter of Sir George Southcote. He died in or before 1642, leaving a widow named Dorothy. He had two children, Reynold and Dorothy, both of whom died young.

Ferdinand, born about 1612, commoner of Exeter College, and the donor of a silver bowl in 1630. He left no issue.

George, born about 1613. He left no issue.

Dorothy, born about 1604, married to Sir Henry Carew of Bickleigh.

Bridget, married at Boconnoc on the 15th of April 1635 to John Nicholls of Trewane, and afterwards to Sir James Smyth.[4]

[1] *Return of Members of Parliament.*
[2] Boase's *Register of Exeter College*, p. 279.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 276.
[4] S. P. Dom. Interregnum, G. 73. f. 173.

Penelope, baptized at Boconnoc on the 29th of January 1609, married to William Drewe of Broad Hembury in Devonshire. There is at Boconnoc a portrait of her dated 1636, and a curious epitaph in memory of her dated 1637 may be seen in the church.[1]

Margaret, baptized at Boconnoc on the 27th of June 1619, married to Charles Roscarrock of Trevenna. She died in 1670.

Sir Reynold Mohun died on the 26th of December 1639.[2] At Boconnoc there are portraits of him and one of his wives attributed to Cornelius Jannsen.

John Mohun, the eldest surviving son of Sir Reynold, matriculated at Exeter College in 1605, being then thirteen years of age. He presented a bowl in the following year, and took the degree of B.A. in 1608. Two years later, he was admitted a student of the Middle Temple. In the Parliaments of 1624 and 1625, he sat for Grampound and, through the influence of the Duke of Buckingham, he was appointed Vice-Warden of the Stannaries.

Sir James Bagg, who styled himself that minister's "perpetuall slave," importuned him for months to obtain a peerage for John Mohun. On the 1st of November 1627, he wrote :—

"Mohun in a Lordlike way will best be your servant."

On the 17th of March following, he was more explicit :—

"Mr. Mohun is soe your servant as in life and fortune..... Inable him by honor to be fitt for you; soe in the Upper House or in the countrey will he be the more advantagious to you. He is honest, and I am pawne for his constancie. He desires to retain the name of Mohun and to be Baron either of Polrode, Launceston, Bodmin, Lostwithiell or Boconnoke."

Again only two days later :—

"Let me mynde and pray you to take care of Mohun."

On the 23rd he wrote :—

"I am not more an enymie to vice then an affectionate servant

[1] Hamilton Rogers, *Sepulchral Effigies of Devon*, p. 329.

[2] Inq. post mortem, C. II. 596 (45).

to vertue, and therfore I am inforst to assure you of the great worth of your servant Mohun."

Once more, on the 8th of April :—

"The service that Mohun will doe you will crowne your favour to him, make me gladd as long as he continues an honest man, and give me resolution to cutt his throate when he shall approve other to my Lord the Duke." [1]

By this time the matter was practically settled, and on the 15th of April 1628, John Mohun was raised to the peerage with the title of Baron Mohun of Okehampton. His motto '*Generis revocamus honores*' may allude either to the Mohuns of Dunster or the Courtenays of Okehampton. One curious result of his new creation was that he obtained precedence of his own father, still living and only a baronet. It is interesting to note that Mohun afterwards quarrelled with Bagg, whom he charged with defrauding the King of 20,000*l.* [2]

The first Lord Mohun married Cordelia daughter of Sir John Stanhope and relict of Sir Roger Aston. She was buried at St. Martin's in the Fields on the 2nd of October 1639. By her he had issue :—

John, born about 1615. In 1637, he was committed to the Fleet Prison in connexion with an affray on Snow Hill, near Holborn, in which Lord Lumley received some injury. Only one version of the story, his own, has been preserved. According to this, he was returning from the Dutch Embassy in company with Cassius Burroughs, son of Garter King of Arms, Obadiah Gossop, his father's chaplain, and two servants, when Lord Savage's coach came upon them suddenly. To save himself from being crushed against a wall, young Mohun struck at the horses with his cane, whereupon the coachman slashed at him with his whip. After some reprisals, swords were drawn on both sides, but neither Mohun nor Burroughs could explain how Lord Lumley, sitting quietly in the coach, came to be hurt. [3]

[1] S. P. Dom. Car. I. vol. lxxxiv. no. 93 ; vol. xcvi. nos. 36, 48 ; vol. xcviii. no. 26 ; vol. c. nos. 47, 55.

[2] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, passim.*

[3] S. P. Dom. Charles I. vol. cccixiii. nos. 36, 37, 119.

John Mohun died in his father's lifetime and was buried at Kensington on the 31st of October 1639.
Warwick, heir to his father.
Charles, baptized at Mevagissey on the 25th of August 1622. He was knighted at Bristol in 1643, but was killed at Dartmouth in the Civil War.[1]
Cordelia, married to John Harris of Hayne.
Theophila, married at St. Martin's in the Fields, on the 8th of November 1638, to James Campbell.
Philippa, baptized at Mevagissey in 1623.
Philadelphia, died in 1633.

John, Lord Mohun died on the 28th of March 1641.[2] There are portraits of him and his wife at Boconnoc.

Warwick Mohun, second Baron of Okehampton, was born on the 25th of May 1620, and was consequently within a few weeks of his majority at the date of his father's death.[3] When the quarrel between the King and the Parliament became serious, he withdrew from Westminster to his house in Cornwall.[4] After some hesitation, he definitely took up arms on behalf of the former in September 1642, and raised a regiment of foot in his own neighbourhood, although he was not popular there. A year later, he resigned his commission. The disputes about the amount to be paid by him to the victorious party by way of penalty lasted a long time.[5] He died between April and July 1665. By Catherine his wife, daughter of—Welles of Brember in Hampshire, he had issue two sons and three daughters :—

Charles, his heir.
James, of Polmangan, who died in 1699 or 1700.
Cordelia.
Catherine, married to George Cusack.
Isabella, married to Samuel Maddock of Plymouth.[6]
Anne, one of their two daughters and coheiresses,

[1] Shaw's *Knights of England*, vol. ii. p. 216.
[2] Inq. post mortem, C. II. 607 (102).
[3] Vivian's *Visitations* and G.E.C.'s *Complete Peerage* give different dates, both incorrect. His singular Christian name seems to have come through his grandmother, Philippa Hele, whose mother's maiden name was Warwick. Vivian's *Visitations of Devon*, p. 464.
[4] S.P. Dom. Charles I. vol. ccccxcii. no. 7.
[5] Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, *Calendar of Committee for Advance of Money*. p. 692.
[6] Hamilton Rogers, *Sepulchral Effigies of Devon*, p. 120.

married John Fownes, ancestor of the Fownes Luttrells of Dunster Castle.

Catherine, Lady Mohun being a Roman Catholic, the King in Council made order, in 1668, that she should give security to bring up her children in the Protestant religion.[1] She died in April 1692.[2]

Charles Mohun, third Baron of Okehampton, was under age at the date of his father's death. In November 1672, he proposed to Arthur, Earl of Anglesey, for the hand of his daughter Philippa, "with great civility." A few days later, the young lady's father notes in his diary :—

> "My Lord Mohun continued his addresses with more civility, desiring only my daughter, and leaving all things else to myself, whether I give anything or nothing."

The marriage, however, did not turn out well. In September 1674, Lord Anglesey records that Lord and Lady Mohun were "desperately out again." In his opinion, both parties were to blame, but he vented most of his wrath on his daughter :—

> "If she had not been married, I had beat her. I did call her 'impudent baggage.'"

Some three months later, he effected a reconciliation.[3] Lord Mohun considered that his dignity was seriously impugned when somebody said that he was "good for nothing but to sit in ladies' chambers and thread their needles."[4] A newsletter of the 5th of October 1676, gives the following account of a brawl in which he was concerned :—

> "Two Exchange women (to whom Lady Mohun owed a bill, and to whom payment was promised with Michaelmas rents, with which they seemed satisfied) after drinking brandy, came with four braves to my Lord's lodgings. The women went up, spit in my Lady's face, etc. The men staid below and cried 'Where is my Lord?' etc. My Lord at this alarm went upstairs, took his sword and pistol, and one of his men the like, and after some passes shot, missed the man, but shot through

[1] Hist. MSS. Comm. *Report* xii. App. vii. p. 60. In the *Dictionary of National Biography*, (vol. xxxviii. p. 105) she is confounded with her daughter-in-law.

[2] Luttrell's *Brief Relation*, vol. ii. p. 429; Hist. MSS. Comm. *Report* xiv. App. vi. p. 366.

[3] Hist. MSS. Comm. *Report* xiii. App. vi. pp. 274, 277.

[4] *Hatton Correspondence*, vol. i. p 124.

his hat ; that not doing, shot again, but the pistol would not go off. The hubbub increasing, they retreated, my Lord having received a slight wound on the hand. They were three Irish, and one Lifeguardsman." [1]

While acting as second to Lord Cavendish in a duel in November 1676, Lord Mohun was run through the stomach, and he lay between life and death for a considerable time.[2] Dying on the 29th of September 1677, he was buried at St. Martin's in the Fields three weeks later.

Lady Mohun, the widow, caused some sensation in the aristocratic circles of London by her proceedings in connexion with another brawl in the following year. Going to play cards with a friend who was in lodgings near the New Exchange, she encountered the landlady, to whom her husband had owed money. Some high words passed, and one of Lady Mohun's footmen pricked the landlady with his sword, while another spat in her daughter's face. The landlady retaliated by throwing a candlestick at one of them, which hit their mistress on the knee. Lady Mohun thereupon, claiming the privilege of a peeress, petitioned the House of Lords to summon and punish her assailant. The Lords, however, very wisely left the parties to settle their quarrel by course of ordinary law. The King was vastly amused, and gallantly declared that he was willing to determine by inspection whether Lady Mohun's knee was injured.[3] William Coward, serjeant-at-law, was so fascinated by the widow that he paid her debts amounting to 1,500*l.* before obtaining her hand in second marriage. Nevertheless she steadily refused to let him touch any of her money.[4] Surviving him by some years, she was buried at Lee in Kent in March 1715.[5] By this lady, Lord Mohun had left issue two children :—

Charles, his successor.

Elizabeth, a maid of honour to Queens Mary and Anne. She died in July 1710.[6]

[1] *Verney Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 315.

[2] Hist. MSS. Comm. *Report* xii. App. v. pp. 32-37 ; App. vii. pp. 130, 141. *Hatton Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 142.

[3] *Lords' Journals*, vol. xiii. p. 194 ; Hist. MSS. Comm. *Report* ix. App. 2, p. 110 ; *Report* xii. App. v. p. 49.

[4] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. iv. p. 88.

[5] *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 11.

[6] *Lords' Journals*, vol. xiii; Luttrell *Brief Relation*, vol. iii. p. 143 ; vol. vi. p. 610 ; Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. v. p. 10.

Charles Mohun, fourth and last Baron of Okehampton, appears to have been born in 1674.[1] It is not possible here to attempt a detailed biography of a nobleman who was constantly before the public during the last twenty years of his comparatively short career.[2] The Jacobite Hearne sums up his character in describing him as "the greatest debauchee and bully of the age."[3]

In 1692, when Lord Mohun was about eighteen years old, but already "exceeding dissolute," he had a drunken quarrel with Lord Kennedy, and the King himself failed to prevent a duel in which both parties were wounded.[4]

This was on the 7th of December. Only two nights later, Lord Mohun was concerned in an attempt made by Captain Richard Hill to kidnap Mrs. Bracegirdle, the popular actress. He was still with Hill when the latter, a mere boy, waylaid William Mountfort, the most graceful actor of the period and brutally murdered him in Howard Street, Strand.[5] The grand jury of Middlesex found a true bill against both, and, although the principal culprit managed to escape, his noble associate was eventually committed to the Tower of London. As Lord Mohun had to be tried by his peers, extraordinary preparations were made. Westminster Hall was fitted up with scaffolding, boxes being provided for the foreign ministers, and special seats for the peeresses and their daughters. Eight tickets of admission were also allotted to every peer, including the prisoner, who was not yet a member of the House of Lords. A Lord High Steward was appointed to regulate the proceedings, and every peer living within twenty miles of London was required to

[1] He is sometimes described as the fifth Baron, in consequence of an erroneous idea that the first Baron was succeeded by his eldest son. In December 1692, Lady Nottingham writes of "that wretched creature," Lord Mohun, as "not sixteen years old till April next." (*Hatton Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 187.) In the following February, John Evelyn describes him as "not yet eighteen years old." (*Diary*.) He was, however, married in 1691, and presumably of full age when summoned to Parliament in October 1695. (Parliamentary Pawns, P. R. O.)

[2] The article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxviii. pp. 105-107, gives many useful references, but contains several errors.

[3] *Collections* (ed. Doble), vol. iii. p. 486.

[4] Luttrell's *Brief Relation*, vol. ii. pp. 629, 631, 636; *Hatton Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 187.

[5] Hist. MSS. Comm. *Report on Portland Papers*, vol. viii. p. 322; *Report* xiv. App. ii. pp. 509, 512, 513; Lysons's *Environs of London*, vol. i. p. 782. All the evidence is printed in Howell's *State Trials*, vol. xii. pp. 949-1050. Macaulay gives a short but characteristic summary of it. (*History of England*, chapter xiv.)

attend. Carts and drays were forbidden to move between Charing Cross and Old Palace Yard between six o'clock in the morning and nine o'clock in the evening of the day fixed for the opening of the trial.[1]

On the 31st of January 1693, the Lieutenant of the Tower conveyed his prisoner to Westminster, preceded by a porter carrying a bare axe. The formal, though minute, record of the proceedings does not of course mention the fact that the King was one of the spectators until three o'clock.[2] Speeches by counsel, the examination of witnesses, and a consultation with the judges necessitated several adjournments, but on the 4th of February the Lords gave their opinions one by one, sixty-nine voting for an acquittal and fourteen for a conviction.[3] The Lord High Steward, who had received prodigious remuneration for presiding on the occasion, then broke his staff, in token that his functions were ended. Lord Mohun's acquittal was largely due to "commiseration for his youth."[4] According to the wits of the day, there was nothing fair about the trial except the bevy of fashionable ladies in the gallery.

The solemn proceedings in Westminster Hall did not sober Lord Mohun's unruly spirit. Under the date of Saturday the 6th of October 1694, we read :—

> "On Sunday last, the Lord Mohun attempting to kill a coachman in the Pall Mall, and Mr. Scobell, a Cornish Member of Parliament, preventing him, his Lordship cutt Mr. Scobell over the head and after sent him a challenge."[5]

While serving in the army in Flanders, Lord Mohun presumably kept the peace with his brother officers, but under date of the 8th of April 1697 we read :—

> "Wensday night, the Lord Mohun and Captain Bingham fought in St. James' Park : the former was wounded in the hand : they were parted by the centinells."[6]

Lord Mohun's next encounter, five months later, had more serious consequences. Under date of the 16th of September 1697 we read :—

[1] *Lords' Journals*, vol. xv. pp. 184, 196, 202, 206, 210, 214 etc.
[2] Luttrell's *Brief Relation*, vol. iii. p. 26.
[3] *Lords' Journals*, vol. xv ; Howell's *State Trials*, vol. xii.
[4] Evelyn's Diary.
[5] Luttrell's *Brief Relation*, vol. iii. p. 381.
[6] *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 207.

> "On Tuesday night, the Lord Mohun and several gentlemen drinking in the *Rummer* tavern at Charing Cross, some words arose between his Lordship and Captain Hill of the Foot Guards, who thereupon was stabbed by the former, and is since dead." [1]

The coroner's inquest found Lord Mohun guilty of manslaughter, but the grand jury of Middlesex found a bill against him for murder. [2] On his petition to the House of Lords, he was removed from the King's Bench Prison to the Tower, where his behaviour was such that the Lieutenant was forced to put him in close confinement. [3] Falling ill there, he was released on bail, and on the 2nd of July 1698 he obtained a formal pardon from the King. Two days later, he took his seat in the House of Lords. [4]

Once more, in 1699, was Lord Mohun committed to the Tower on a charge of murder, the victim this time being Captain Richard Coote. Another trial in Westminster Hall followed, and, although the proceedings had not the interest of novelty, the King and many other important personages attended. [5] On this occasion, the prisoner was acquitted by a unanimous vote of his peers. His own words of acknowledgement have been recorded, ending :—

> "I will endeavour to make it the business of the future part of my life so to behave myself in my conversation in the world as to avoid all things that may bring me under any such circumstances as may expose me to the giving your Lordships any trouble of this nature for the future." [6]

After this, there was considerable amendment. Lord Mohun took to politics, became a frequenter of the Kit Cat Club, and a prominent member of the Whig party in the House of Lords. Still the old reputation of a *ferailleur* stuck to him, and when the Duke of Marlborough, in May 1712, resolved to send a challenge to Earl Poulett, he chose Lord Mohun as his envoy. [7] Less than six months afterwards, Lord Mohun himself was a principal in one of the most famous duels that have ever been fought in

[1] Luttrell's *Brief Relation*, vol. iii. p. 278.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 280, 296, 303.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 318, 329; *Lords' Journals*, vol. xvi. pp. 179, 211.
[4] *Lords' Journals*, vol. xvi. pp. 263, 341.
[5] Luttrell's *Brief Relation*, vol. iv. pp. 499. 500.
[6] Howell, p. 1060.
[7] Hist. MSS. Comm. *Report* xi. App. v. p. 309.

England. His adversary, the Duke of Hamilton, was a leading Tory, about to go to Paris as ambassador. There had been interminable litigation between them about the estate of the Earl of Macclesfield, and the fatal quarrel arose out of strong language used by Lord Mohun in the course of the proceedings.

The story is too long to be told here in detail.[1] Suffice it to say that the duel took place in Hyde Park at seven o'clock on the morning of the 15th of November 1712, when the two noblemen fought "like enraged lions." Mohun was the first to fall, mortally wounded, but, according to the accepted version of the affair, he had sufficient strength to retaliate with a fatal thrust. The Tories preferred to believe that the Duke was killed by Mohun's second, who fled the country.[2] There is a considerable amount of controversial literature on the subject. Lord Mohun's body was conveyed to his lodging in Marlborough Street, and he was buried at St. Martin's in the Fields ten days later. In him the main line of the Cornish Mohuns came to an end. Philippa, Lady Mohun had the perhaps unique experience of losing her husband and her son through duels. It is doubtful whether she grieved much for either.[3]

The last Lord Mohun was married twice. In the summer of 1691, when he was barely seventeen years of age, he took to wife Charlotte daughter and heiress of James Mainwaring and grand-daughter of the Earl of Macclesfield. According to tradition :—

> "He had only one daughter, whom he never owned, and he lived several years separated from his wife. He had the good fortune, however, to get rid of her at last, she being drowned in a passage to Ireland with one of her gallants, about six or seven years before his own death."[4]

By a will dated the 23rd of March 1710, Lord Mohun left 100*l.* to Elizabeth, his "pretended daughter" by his first wife.[5] The date of this daughter's birth is at present

[1] Summaries of the evidence given as to the facts are printed in the *Political State for 1712*, and Hist. MSS. Comm. *Report* xi. App. v. pp. 311-314.

[2] *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxiv. p. 444; Hist. MSS. Comm. *Report on Portland Papers*, vol. v. p. 26.

[3] *Lords' Journals*, vol. xii. p. 17.

[4] Gilbert's *History of Cornwall*, vol. i. p. 67.

[5] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. v. p. 10.

unknown, but, as her parents were not divorced, she must assuredly be reckoned legitimate. In June 1717, she married Arthur St. Leger, afterwards Viscount Doneraile. That she herself was in no way ashamed of her birth is tolerably clear from the fact that her eldest son was baptized by the names of 'Arthur Mohun.'[1]

At some unknown date, Lord Mohun married secondly Elizabeth relict of Colonel Edward Griffith, and daughter of Thomas Lawrence, physician at the court of Queen Anne. To her he bequeathed almost all his property, real and personal. In 1717, she sold the Cornish estate, subject to some temporary charges, to Thomas Pitt, ex-governor of Madras, who had recently obtained a great price for his famous diamond. Paying 53,000*l.* for Boconnoc and all that went with it, he was considered to have made a very good bargain.[2] About the same time, Lady Mohun married thirdly Charles Mordaunt, nephew of the Earl of Peterborough, a man much younger than herself. Her letters show her to have been a lady with some literary aspirations.[3] She died in the spring of 1725.

A younger branch of the Mohuns of Boconnoc inherited the Trencreke estate in the parish of Creed in Cornwall, and resided at Luny in the parish of St. Ewe. William Mohun, probably son of Nathaniel Mohun mentioned above (p. 483), married Dorothy daughter of Sir John Trelawny, bart.[4] They had issue Warwick and Delia.

Warwick Mohun, son of William, was baptized at St. Ewe on the 8th of December 1668. In December 1704, he married Anne Addis at Stoke Damarel. She seems to have died in January 1714, he surviving until October 1733. Warwick and John Mohun, buried respectively in 1714 and 1719, may have been two of their children.[5] Their eldest son William matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, in 1723. In the church of St. Ewe there is a monument in memory of William Mohun, Esq. "the last

[1] Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, (ed. Archdall) vol. vi. p. 121.

[2] Hist. MSS. Comm. *Report* xiii. App. iii. pp. 62, 69, 70, 88; Gilbert's *History of Cornwall*, vol. i. p. 67.

[3] *Letters of the Countess of Suffolk*, vol. i. pp. 7, 94, 99.

[4] She is called 'Jane' in Gilbert's *History of Cornwall*, vol. i. p. 255.

[5] Vivian's *Visitation of Cornwall, 1620* p. 146.

of that ancient name and noble family," who died on the 2nd of December 1737, aged thirty-two. It was put up by his widow Sibella, sister of Thomas Trefusis of Penryn, and his only sister Elizabeth, widow of James Prowse of Keyford in Somerset.[1] The former afterwards married John Derbyshire Birkhead.[2] This William Mohun may have been the last male representative of the Cornish branch of the family, but, as has been seen above, Robert Mohun of Fleet in Dorset survived until 1758.

Various parish registers in Cornwall record the births, marriages and deaths of persons named Mohun or Moon, who may have been of legitimate origin, although of humble station.[3]

John Mohun of South Petherton, the owner of a tobacco plantation in Virginia in 1675, seems to have been in some way connected with the Cornish branch of the family, as his brother bore the uncommon name of Warwick.[4]

The Heralds' Visitation of Hertfordshire in 1572 professes to record four generations of a family named Mohun, then resident at Aldenham in that county. It begins with a certain Edmond Mohun "of Mohun *(sic)* in Cornwall."

The Mohuns of Tavistock.[5]

According to a pedigree entered in the Heralds' Visitation of Devon in 1620, Thomas Mohun of Tavistock then living was son of Thomas, son of Thomas, serjeant-at-arms to Henry the Eighth, son of Thomas, son of Thomas, son of Lawrence one of the younger sons of Sir John Mohun of Dunster, who is otherwise known to have died in 1330. It is, however, very unlikely that six generations covered three centuries.

Thomas Mohun, the serjeant-at-arms, married Agnes

[1] Rogers *Sepulchral Effigies*, p. 329.
[2] Gilbert's *History of Cornwall*, vol. i. p. 8.
[3] Vivian's *Visitation of Cornwall, 1620*.
[4] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. i. p. 77.
[5] This section is founded upon the pedigrees given in Vivian's *Visitations of Devon* (pp. 1, 12, 168, 321, 566, 574, 712), which furnish some particulars not to be found in the original MS.

daughter of William Amadas, who married secondly Thomas Stoford of Dolton, thirdly John Charles, and fourthly William Abbot of Hartland, who died in 1570.

Thomas Mohun, son of Thomas and Agnes, married Joan daughter of William Kedley (or Ridley) *alias* Pointer, and had issue :—

Thomas, heir to his father.
Charles, who died without issue.
Eleanor, married firstly to Thomas Harris and secondly to William Grafton.
Joan, married firstly to Richard Edgcumbe, secondly to Christopher Wolridge, thirdly to Erasmus Drewe, and fourthly to Alexander Maine.
Denise, married firstly to Ralph Taylor and secondly to John Eliot.
Dorothy, married to William Carden.
Anne.

Thomas Mohun, son of Thomas and Joan, living in 1620, married firstly Grace, daughter of Richard Singleton of Truro, and by her had issue :—

Thomas, born about 1600. He had a son Reynold, who was baptized in August 1628.
William, born about 1607.
Peter, of Cheriton Fitzpaine, born about 1609, and died in 1654, when his wife Joan was living.
Frances, born about 1598, married in May 1616 to William Moore. She died in 1671.
Denise, born about 1604.

He married secondly, in October 1614, Joan daughter of John Harris and had issue :—

Ellis, baptized on the 6th of August 1615.
Edward, born about 1617.
John, baptized on the 26th of April 1621.
Richard, baptized on the 30th of April 1628.
Grace, baptized on the 28th of September 1616, buried in April following.
Alice, baptized on the 19th of December 1618.
Elizabeth, baptized on the 19th of March 1623.

Some Mohuns, not placed.

There are occasional notices of persons bearing the name of Mohun who cannot with certainty be placed in the pedigree of any particular branch of the family. The following list, arranged locally, is not of course complete :—

Watchet, co. Somerset, seven miles from Dunster. Circa 1230, John son of Richard de Moyon.[1]

Fifehead, co. Dorset, five miles from Ham Mohun. 1268 and 1277, William son of Richard de Mohun.[2] 1346, John, son of Richard, son of William de Mohun.[3]

Adbeer, co. Somerset, on the border of Dorset, some fourteen miles from Fifehead. 1274, William de Mohun.[4] 1299, Isabel late the wife of Richard de Mohun.[5] 1303, Geoffrey de Mohun.[6] 1307, Geoffrey de Mohun and Nicholas de Mohun.[7] 1311, Geoffrey de Mohun and Margaret his wife, and Nicholas his brother, in an entail.[8]

East Camel, co. Somerset, three miles from Adbeer. 1313, Geoffrey de Mohun and Margaret his wife.[9]

West Camel, adjoining. 1286, Andrew, Geoffrey, Richard, Arnald, John and Thomas de Moun.[10]

Winterbourne, co. Glouc. 1316, Geoffrey de Mohun.[11]

Carhampton, co. Somerset, adjoining Dunster. 1313, William de Mohun.[12] 1704, Margaret Mohun, spinster.[13]

Puslinch, co. Devon. 1428, William Mohun.[14] 1471, William Mohun died, leaving two daughters.[15]

Retford, co. Nottingham. 1310, William de Mohun.[16]

Rouston, co. Lincoln. 1305, Richard de Mohun.[17]

—— 1274, Robert de Mohun, a monk of Croyland.[18]

—— 1288, 1293, John de Mohun, a Knight Templar.[19]

[1] D.C.M. xxxii. 2.
[2] Assize Rolls, no. 202, m. 13 ; no. 1236, m. 1*d*.
[3] Placita de Banco, no. 348, m. 170.
[4] Inq. post mortem, C. Edw. I. 2 (7).
[5] Assize Roll, no. 1315, m. 20.
[6] *Feudal Aids*, vol. iv. pp. 316, 338.
[7] Assize Roll, no. 1336, m. 3.
[8] Feet of Fines, Somerset, 4 Edw. II.
[9] Assize Roll, no. 1357, m. 19*d*.
[10] Assize Roll, no. 1273, m. 24*d*.
[11] *Feudal Aids*, vol. ii. p. 269.
[12] D.C.M. xvii. 1.
[13] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. i. p. 77.
[14] *Feudal Aids*, vol. i. p. 494.
[15] Inq. post mortem, 11 Edw. IV. no. 33 ; Pole's *Collections*, p. 306.
[16] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1307-1313*, p. 298.
[17] *Ibid. 1301-1307*, p. 360.
[18] *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1272-1279*, p. 117.
[19] *Ibid. 1288-1296*, pp. 289, 339 ; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1292-1301*, p. 41.

APPENDIX B.

The Arms and Seals of the Mohuns.

Although various charters of the early lords of Dunster have been printed, most of them are known only from medieval transcripts; none are authenticated by their original seals, which would presumably have been of the equestrian type. There is even some uncertainty as to the arms borne by the Mohuns in the early part of the thirteenth century. The important heraldic document known as 'Glover's Roll,' dating from the period between 1240 and 1245, credits Reynold de Mohun with a very simple bearing :— *Gules* a maunch *argent.* On the other hand the Register of Newenham Abbey states that the arms of the founder, this Reynold, were :—

> "*De goules les escu ove la manche dargent ermyne e en la mayn de argent une florete de or.*" [1]

In modern heraldic language, the arms of the Mohuns of Dunster, in the second half of the thirteenth century, and of some cadet branches of the family may be blazoned as:— *Gules* a dexter arm habited with a maunch *ermine*, the hand *argent* holding a fleur-de-lys *or.*

To account for the supposed addition of the hand and fleur-de-lys to the original bearing of a plain maunch, two ingenious theories have been put forward, one in the fourteenth century, the other in the nineteenth. According to Walter de la Hou, Abbot of Newenham, Reynold de Mohun added a fleur-de-lys to his arms, in allusion to a golden rose given to him by the Pope.[2] The connexion between these two flowers is not, however, obvious. The modern theory

[1] Arundel MS. 17, f. 38*d*.

[2] See above, p. 23.

SEALS 1-3.

1.
Sir Reynold de Mohun
d. 1258.

2.
John de Mohun.

3.
Sir Reynold de Mohun.
d. 1258.

is even less tenable. We are gravely told that "the fleur-de-lys was added either by John de Mohun or his son, after the marriage of the former with the heiress Joan de Aguylon, when the bearing of her family was combined with the Mohun maunch."[1] In refutation of this, it is sufficient to observe that the fleur-de-lys was unquestionably borne by Reynold de Mohun, the father of John, and that "the heiress Joan" did not marry Robert Aguylon until after the death of her first husband, John de Mohun.

There are extant impressions of two different seals of Reynold de Mohun the Second, mentioned above. One of these, attached to an undated charter, bears the device of a sinister arm, the hand holding a fleur-de-lys. The legend, almost illegible in parts, seems to be:—"[NULLA] SUNT QUE MALO [TENERE.]" (No. 1).[2] The deed is clearly anterior to 1258, and the use of black-letter minuscules on a seal of this early date is remarkable. The other seal is strictly heraldic, a right hand holding a fleur-de-lys and issuing out of a maunch being placed on a well-shaped shield. The legend, boldly cut, is:—"SIGILL. REGINALDI DE MOUN." (No. 2).[3]

The Register of Newenham Abbey states that William de Mohun, brother of the founder, Reynold, bore for arms:—

"*Les escu de goules oŷe la manche de argent ermyne e croizeles.*"[4]

This certainly confirms the idea that there was no fleur-de-lys or hand on the shield of his father. If, however, these charges were added to it by his brother, it is difficult to account for their presence in the shield of the Mohuns of Ham Mohun, who descended from his great-uncle.

Sir William de Mohun, son of Reynold de Mohun by his second wife, bore:—*Gules* a maunch *argent* with a label *azure*.[5] Unless the label were placed upon the maunch, there was colour upon colour, in violation of the rule generally followed. The grandson of this Sir William de

[1] Hutchins's *History of Dorset*, vol. i. p. 272; Planché's *Pursuivant of Arms*, p. 169.

[2] D.C.M. XXVI. 1.

[3] D.C.M. XXVI. 1. There is an enlarged photographic reproduction of another impression in Mr. Bloom's List of the Charters of Lord Willoughby de Broke.

[4] Arundel MS. 17, f. 38*d*.

[5] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxix. p. 423.

Mohun, who died in 1394 without issue, is said to have bequeathed his mother's property to his half-brother, John Carew, with an injunction to quarter her arms. The Mohun maunch on the shield of the Carews of Ottery Mohun consequently represents succession to an inheritance, without relationship in blood. [1]

The third seal figured opposite is that of John son of Richard de Moyon, who had land at Watchet in the early part of the reign of Henry the Third. His exact relationship to the lord of Dunster is not known. The seal bears the device of an eagle displayed, and the legend around it is simply :—" SIG. JOH̃IS FILII RICARDI. " [2]

Eleanor wife of Sir William Martin, and relict of the Sir John de Mohun of Dunster who died in 1279, had a seal showing three shields :—two bars and a label, for Martin ; a hand issuing from a maunch and holding a fleur-de-lys, for Mohun ; and three lions rampant, for Fitzpiers. [3]

For some reason entirely unknown, her eldest son, Sir John de Mohun, lord of Dunster, abandoned the paternal arms and adopted a different shield. The Register of Newenham Abbey says of him :—

> " The same John de Moun the Third changed the ancient arms of those who were wont to bear an ermined maunch. This John the Third bore a golden shield with a black cross engrailed. " [4]

The change must have been made at a fairly early period of his life. In the list of English knights who were at the siege of Carlaverock Castle, in 1300, we read :—

> " *Jaune o crois noire engrelee*
> *La portoit John de Mooun.*" [5]

Another roll, somewhat later gives his arms as :—" *De or a une crois engrele de sable.*" [6] The seal of this John de Mohun, attached to the famous letter of the English earls and barons to Pope Boniface the Eighth gives his new shield, with a lion on either side and an eagle above. The legend around is :—" S. JOHANIS DE MOUN. " (No. 4.) [7]

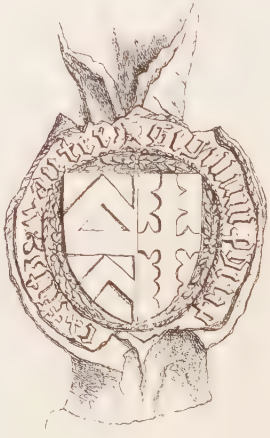
[1] *The Ancestor*, vol. v. p. 44.
[2] D.C.M. xxxii. 2.
[3] Nicolas's *Siege of Carlaverock*, p. 159.
[4] *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvii. p. 89.
[5] Nicolas's *Siege of Carlaverock*.
[6] Palgrave's *Parliamentary Writs*, vol. i. p. 410.
[7] There is a photographic reproduction of it in *The Ancestor*, vol. vii. p. 251.

SEALS 4-7.

4.
Sir John de Mohun.
d. 1330.

5.
Sir John de Mohun.
d. 1375.

6.
Joan, Lady de Mohun.
d. 1404.



7.
Philippa, Lady Fitzwalter.
d. 1431.

The Augustinian Priory of Bruton and the Cistercian Abbey of Newenham alike followed the example of Sir John de Mohun by taking for their arms :—*Or* a cross engrailed *sable*.[1] Nevertheless the ancient arms of Mohun are still visible on the parapet of Axminster Church, close to the ruins of Newenham, and there is a quaint version of them on a bell cast for Bruton Church shortly before the expulsion of the canons in the reign of Henry the Eighth.[2]

Sir John de Mohun the Fourth, who died in the lifetime of his father, bore at the battle of Boroughbridge in 1322, a shield thus blazoned :—

"*Dor ove j croiz engrele de sable ovec j label de gul.*"[3]

Sir John de Mohun the Fifth and last bore on his seal a cross which might be described as 'lozengy.' The legend is :—" SIGILLUM JOHANNIS DE MOUN." (No. 5.)[4] The receipt given by his relict to Lady Luttrell, the purchaser of the Castle of Dunster and all that went with it, bears a seal showing the arms of Mohun and Burghersh, impaled in the old manner by being placed side by side on separate shields. The legend is :—" S. JOHANNE DE MOUN." (No. 6.)[5] In a register of Christ Church, Canterbury, preserved in the British Museum, the arms of this lady are given on a quarterly shield, those of Mohun occupying the first and fourth places, and those of Burghersh the second and third, contrary to modern practice.[6] Her arms and those of her nearest relations are to be seen at Canterbury.

Lady FitzWalter, afterwards Duchess of York, daughter and coheiress of the last Mohun of Dunster, used a seal on which the arms of her husband are impaled with her own in modern style, save that they are on a shield instead of a lozenge. The legend is :—" SIGILLUM PHILIPP[E L]E FFITZ WAUTER." (No. 7.)[7] The arms of Mohun, Fitz Walter, Golafre and Plantagenet are to be seen on her monument in Westminster Abbey.

The Mohuns of Ham Mohun, who branched off from the Mohuns of Dunster as far back as the twelfth century,

[1] There are rough woodcuts of the seals of three Abbots of Newenham in Davidson's *History of Newenham Abbey*.
[2] Ellacombe's *Church Bells*, pl. iv.
[3] Palgrave's *Parliamentary Writs*, vol. ii. part 2, p. 198.
[4] D.C.M. XXIV. 1.
[5] Page 53 above.
[6] Arundel MS. 68, f. 59.
[7] D.C.M. XVII. 1.

bore arms very similar to those of the parent stock, but with the tinctures reversed, that is to say *Ermine* a dexter arm habited in a maunch *gules*, the hand *proper* holding a fleur-de-lys *or*. These arms were quartered by their descendants, the Trenchards of Wolveton.[1]

Among the different families that claimed descent from the Sir John de Mohun of Dunster who discarded the maunch in favour of the cross there was no uniformity in the matter of armorial bearings.

A seal of Maximilian Mohun of Fleet, affixed to a document of the year 1599, shows the maunch within a bordure charged with crosses.[2] The normal arms of his family, however, were *gules* a dexter arm habited in a maunch *ermine*, the hand *proper* holding a fleur-de-lys *or*, within a bordure *argent*, with a crescent of the same on the field. These arms are to be seen in Fleet Church impaled with those of Hyde, on the brass in memory of Margaret Mohun, who died in 1603. The same arms, quartered with those of Hyde and impaled with those of Churchill, are on the brass in memory of her son, Maximilian Mohun, mentioned above. They are duly entered, with a maunch for crest, in the Heralds' Visitation of Dorset. In the chapel at Lytescary in Somerset, the arms of Lyte, *gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, are impaled with those of Mohun of Fleet. The last surviving member of the family, Judith Worral, had a cornelian seal (now in my possession) showing her paternal arms on an inescutcheon.

The Mohuns of Tavistock, who claimed descent from Lawrence the son of Sir John de Mohun of Dunster, bore for arms, *Or* a cross engrailed *sable*, with a mullet as a mark of cadency.[3]

Sir Reynold de Mohun, the founder of the Cornish branch of the family is described as bearing the ancient arms :—"*de goules ove une maunche d'ermyn*" about the year 1337, that is to say after the death of his father who had abandoned them.[4] His descendants, however, the Mohuns of Hall and Boconnoc, bore the engrailed cross,

[1] *Two Tudor Books of Arms* (ed. Foster), p. 163 ; Hutchins's *History of Dorset*, vol. ii. pp. 547-551.

[2] *Municipal Records of Dorchester*, p. 555.

[3] *Visitation of Devon.*

[4] *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. ii. p. 326.

and used the maunch as a crest only. In the church of Lanteglos by Fowey there is a great display of Mohun heraldry, mostly dating from the reign of James the First. One of the shields has fourteen quarterings :—Mohun, Briwere, Fleming, Marshal, Clare, Macmurrough, Giffard, FitzWilliam, Courtenay, Redvers, Carminow, Horsey, Turges and Maubank. [1]

The Mohuns of Aldenham in Hertfordshire, although perhaps descended from the Mohuns of Cornwall, bore the ermine maunch with the hand and the fleur-de-lys. The same arms are also registered in the office of Ulster King of Arms.

Some Moones, Mounes, and Moynes are credited in Burke's *General Armory* with a maunch, and others with a cross engrailed, but they are not definitely located, and their right to either bearing is open to question. So far as is known, no cadet branch of the baronial family which once owned Moyon in Normandy and Dunster in Somerset survived the eighteenth century.

[1] Hamilton Rogers, *Sepulchral Effigies*, pp. 115-120.

APPENDIX C.

The Luttrells of Irnham in Lincolnshire.

Sir Geoffrey Luttrell, the eldest son of Sir Andrew, was born before the year 1235.[1] From his father he received a grant of the manor of Hooton Paynell, presumably at the time of his marriage, and, in 1254, he obtained royal sanction for a market and fair there.[2] Soon after the battle of Lewes in 1264, he was one of the knights entrusted with the defence of Windsor Castle.[3] On the death of his father in the following year, he did homage to the King for lands held in chief then descending to him, apparently the manor of Irnham, the original Luttrell estate in Nottinghamshire being on a different footing.[4] Soon after this, however, he became incapable of managing his own affairs. In March 1266 therefore, the care of him was committed to his brother Alexander, and that of his children to their maternal grandfather, William de Grey.[5] Alexander Luttrell is stated to have treated him well and to have paid most of the debts that he had contracted.[6] He died in or before February 1270.[7] He had issue, with two daughters, whose names are not recorded, two sons, Robert and Andrew.[8]

Sir Robert Luttrell, his successor, was under age in 1276.[9] In the following year, however, he was summoned to do military service in Scotland, and he was afterwards

[1] *Calendar of Inquisitions*, vol. i. pp. 192, 195.
[2] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, *1247-1258*, p. 324.
[3] Patent Roll, 48 Hen. III. part. 1, mm. 11, 10, 9.
[4] *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium*, vol. ii. p. 425.
[5] Patent Roll, 50 Hen. III. m. 25.
[6] *Ibid.* 54 Hen. III. m. 8.
[7] Close Roll, 54 Hen. III.
[8] Inq. post mortem, 25 Edw. I. no. 51.
[9] *Rotuli Hundredorum*, vol. i. p. 109.

required to take part in other expeditions.[1] In 1295, he received writs of summons to two Parliaments.[2] If there were any proof of his attendance—and there is no reason to suppose that he did not attend—his heir general in the twentieth century might claim the title of 'Lord Luttrell.'[3] Although Sir Robert Luttrell held the Paynell inheritance by barony, it is remarkable to find him described, in 1285, as '*Baro de Luterell.*'[4] He died in or before June 1297.[5] Joan his relict was in possession of some of his property in Nottinghamshire as late as 1316.[6] He had issue at least three sons and four daughters :—

Geoffrey, heir to his father.

Guy, who married a wife named Margaret, and had issue John, Robert, Guy, Thomas, Joan, and Elizabeth.

Andrew, rector of Bridgeford in 1323.[7] He must not be confounded with his contemporary Andrew Luttrell, burgess of Nottingham, who had a wife named Joan.[8] John Luttrell, a theologian of some note, Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1317, is known to have been a bastard.[9]

Margery, a Cistercian nun at Hampole in Yorkshire.

Lucy, a nun at the same place.

Aubrey.

Elizabeth.[10]

Sir Geoffrey Luttrell, born in 1276, succeeded his father, Sir Robert, in 1297.[11] In the course of the next twenty-five years, he received numerous writs calling him to do military service, but he was never summoned to Parliament.[12] The explanation of this must be left to those

[1] Palgrave's *Parliamentary Writs*, vol. i. p. 719.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 29, 31, 35.
[3] Palmer's *Peerage Law in England*, p. 38.
[4] *Kirkby's Inquest* (Surtees Society), p. 23.
[5] Inq. post mortem, 25 Edw. I. no. 35.
[6] *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1297-1302*, p. 64 ; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1313-1317*, p. 370 ; *Feudal Aids*, vol. iv. p. 104.
[7] Heralds' College MS. Picture of Our Lady, f. 77*b*.
[8] Stevenson's *Records of Nottingham*, vol. i. pp. 380, 384, 388, 400, 401. John Luttrell of Nottingham may have been their son. *Ibid.* pp. 170, 369, 407.
[9] *Calendar of Papal Letters*, vol. i. p. 616 ; Dictionary of *National Biography*, vol. xxxiv. p. 296.
[10] *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. vi. p. 5.
[11] Inq. post mortem, 25 Edw, I. no. 35 ; *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1296-1302*, p. 70.
[12] Palgrave's *Parliamentary Writs*, vol. ii. pp. 1127, 1128.

who hold that medieval peerages were strictly hereditary. Sir Geoffrey Luttrell married Agnes daughter of Sir Richard of Sutton. In 1318, after she had borne him several children, the manor of Irnham was settled upon him and her for their lives, so that she would have enjoyed it if she had survived her husband.[1] Many years later, however, it was found that they were related in the third and fourth degrees of kindred.[2] Recourse was therefore had to the Pope, who ordered the Archbishop of York to give them the necessary dispensation and to pronounce their children legitimate.[3] It is difficult to account for the long interval that elapsed between the issue of the papal bull and that of the final document, in January 1334.[4]

Sir Geoffrey Luttrell is chiefly to be remembered as the person who caused the preparation of the Luttrell Psalter, justly famous for its illustrations of social life in the middle of the fourteenth century. He himself figures in two of the illuminations. In one of these he is represented on horseback, preparing for a tournament, with the assistance of his wife and his daughter-in-law, Beatrice Luttrell, all three resplendent in heraldic attire. In the other, he is shown seated at the high table of his hall, in company with his wife, three other members of his household, and two Black Friars. The preparation of his dinner in the kitchen is admirably depicted in the margin of the adjoining page. Chivalry, sports, domestic scenes and husbandry are alike illustrated in the pages of this precious manuscript.[5]

Lady Luttrell died in June 1339 or 1340.[6] Her husband, surviving, made a will on the 3rd of April 1345, a few weeks before his own death, bequeathing various sums of money to no less than sixteen of his relations, some of them members of religious communities, to his chaplain, his confessor, his chief esquire, his chamberlain, his gentle-

[1] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1317-1321*, p. 244.

[2] See page 169 above.

[3] *Calendar of Papal Letters*, vol. ii. p. 368.

[4] Stapleton's *Holy Trinity, York* (Archæological Institute), pp. 161-163.

[5] Six large plates engraved by Basire accompany Rokewode's account of the Luttrell Psalter printed in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. vi. In recent years, some of the subjects have been reproduced by photographic processes in various books, notably in the illustrated edition of *Social England* (vol. i. pp. 642, 649, 658, 659, 689; vol. ii. pp. 132, 133, 483, 761, 785, 786,) and in the second part of the publications of the New Paleographical Society.

[6] Inq. post mortem, 19 Edw. III. no. 48.

women and others. The largest bequests were, however, those to works of religion and charity. His funeral at Irnham was to be conducted on a very sumptuous scale. Wax candles to the value of 20*l.* were to burn around his corpse. Twenty quarters of wheat and twenty of malt, and wine, spices and other condiments to the value of 20*l.* were to be provided for friends attending the service. A sum of no less than 200*l.* was to be distributed among the poor, in three instalments within a month. The beggars of the parish were also to have forty quarters of wheat, and on the anniversary a further sum of 20*l.* was to be given to the poor praying for him. For the first five years after his death, twenty chaplains were to say masses for his soul in the church of Irnham, dividing between them a hundred marks a year.[1]

Sir Geoffrey Luttrell died on the 23rd of May 1345, and was buried at Irnham, where a large canopied monument, elaborately carved in stone, shows the arms of Luttrell and Sutton.[2] He had issue four sons and two daughters :—

Robert (1), living in 1318, but dead in 1320.[3]

Andrew, heir to his father.

Geoffrey, espoused when a mere child to Constance daughter of Sir Geoffrey Scrope, sister of his elder brother's wife.[4]

Robert (2), a Knight of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.

Isabel, a Gilbertine nun.[5]

Elizabeth, probably the eldest of the children. Having been placed in the household of Sir Walter and Lady Gloucester, she was 'abducted' by a clerk named John of Ellerker, in or before the year 1309. Considering her tender age at the time, it is not likely that she eloped with him. Nevertheless it seems clear that he had matrimonial intentions with regard to her, and quite possible that he contrived to go through the ceremony of espousal with her. The affair naturally created a stir at the time, and it

[1] *Vetusta Monumenta.*

[2] Inq. post mortem. 19 Edw. III. no. 48 ; Stapleton, p. 167.

[3] *Calendar of Patent Rolls,* 1317-1321, pp. 244, 424.

[4] Thoroton's *Antiquities of Nottinghamshire,* vol. i. p. 119.

[5] *Vetusta Monumenta,* vol. vi. p. 5.

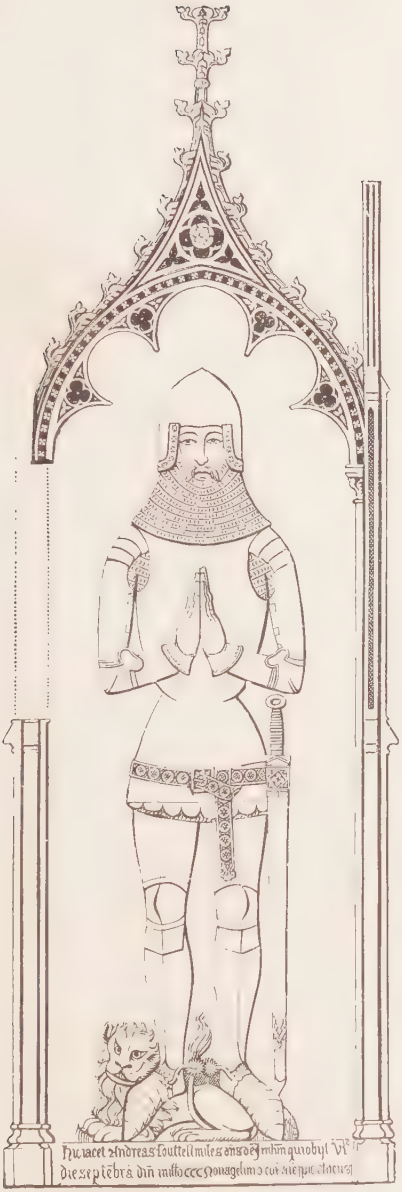
was only through the intervention of the Bishop of Chichester, Chancellor of England, that the hostile parties were reconciled. By a document dated at Westminster on the last day of June 1309, Ellerker undertook that he would not claim Elizabeth as his wife in the ecclesiastical court or make any future attempt to recover possession of her, binding himself by a solemn oath and giving a bond for no less than 1,000*l.*[1] Some weeks later, Hugh le Despencer obtained for him a formal pardon under the Great Seal of England.[2] The girl eventually married Walter son of Sir Walter Gloucester, who is described as a minor as late as the year 1313.[3]

Sir Andrew Luttrell, son and heir of Sir Geoffrey, was about thirty-two years at the time of his father's death in 1345. Being then in Gascony, he received respite from the necessity of doing homage to the King for his lands held in chief.[4] Later on, he did the military service exacted from persons of his class. In 1362, he granted the manors of Bescaby and Saltby in Leicestershire to the Abbot and Convent of Croxton, on condition that they should provide two chaplains to pray for him and for Henry, Duke of Lancaster, deceased.[5] Dying in September 1390, he was buried at Irnham, where there is a very fine brass in memory of him, bearing the following inscription :—

"Hic jacet Andreas Loutterellus miles, dominus de Irnham, qui obiit vi^to. die Septembris anno Domini millesimo CCC^o nonagesimo, cujus anime propitietur Deus."

While a mere child, in or before 1320, Andrew Luttrell was espoused to Beatrice daughter of Sir Geoffrey Scrope, afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and in due course he married her.[6] At the time of the Jubilee of 1350, Lady Luttrell had licence to go on pilgrimage to

[1] *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1307-1313*, p. 160.
[2] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1307-1313*, p. 181.
[3] *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1323-1327*, p. 162 ; *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, vol. ix. p. 222.
[4] *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1343-1346*, p. 540.
[5] Inq. ad quod damnum, file 349, no. 8.
[6] Thoroton.



SIR ANDREW LUTTRELL.

Rome, accompanied by a maid, a chaplain, a yeoman and a groom.[1] In 1362, Sir Andrew Luttrell married a second wife, Hawis daughter of Sir Philip le Despencer, who died in or before 1414, having borne him a son of his own name.[2]

Sir Andrew Luttrell the younger was knighted during the lifetime of his father.[3] When he succeeded to his property, he was upwards of twenty-six years of age.[4] Very little is known about him beyond the fact that he married Joan daughter of Henry Tailebois.[5] He died on the last day of December 1397, leaving issue two children under age, Geoffrey and Hawis.[6]

Sir Geoffrey Luttrell, son and heir of Sir Andrew, was about thirteen years old at the time of his father's death. His wardship was granted by the King firstly to Oliver of Stoneley and secondly to Sir Henry Green.[7] In due course he married Mary daughter of the latter, but she bore him no children. In 1411, he was denounced as a disturber of the peace in Lincolnshire and an associate of his relation, Sir Walter Tailebois, who had lately come into the cathedral city with about a hundred and sixty armed horsemen in quest of Sir Thomas Chaworth. If the charges brought against this couple were well founded, they got off easily by giving security for 3,000*l.* that they would not harm the mayor or citizens.[8] In 1417, Sir Geoffrey Luttrell took part in an honourable campaign, fighting in France under his distant cousin, Sir Hugh Luttrell of Dunster, who nominally held the manor of East Quantockshead under him by military service.[9]

By the death of Sir Geoffrey Luttrell in the first week of January 1419, the male line of Luttrells became extinct. Hawis, his sister, relict of Sir Thomas Belesby, and wife of Sir Geoffrey Hilton, was found to be his heir and about twenty-six years of age.[10]

[1] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1349-1354*, p. 272; *Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, vol. i. p. 67.
[2] Inq. post mortem, 14 Ric. II. no. 32; 2 Hen. V. no. 12.
[3] Close Roll, 11 Ric. II.
[4] Inq. post mortem, 14 Ric. II. no. 32.
[5] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1377-1381*, p. 318.
[6] Inq. post mortem, 21 Ric. II. no. 37.
[7] Inq. post mortem, 1 Hen. IV. no. 27.
[8] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1408-1413*, p. 317.
[9] Accounts, Exchequer K.R. bundle 51, no. 2.
[10] Inq. post mortem, 14 Hen. V. no. 6.

She died on the 24th of March 1422.[1] Her second husband survived her son Thomas Belesby, and at his death in 1459, the inheritance passed to their son Godfrey Hilton, who died in 1472.[2] A third Godfrey Hilton died in 1476, when the property was divided between his two sisters.[3] Through the families of Thimelby and Conquest, Irnham eventually passed by descent to Maria Christina, Lady Arundell of Wardour.[4] The representation of the main line of Luttrell is now vested in Lord Arundell of Wardour and Lord Clifford of Chudleigh.

The Luttrells of East Down in Devonshire and Spaxton in Somerset.[5]

John Luttrell, second son of Sir Hugh Luttrell, K.B., has been mentioned already as the lessee of the Priory of Dunster and the rectories of Dunster and Kilton, and also as the husband for a time of the relict of Robert Loty of Lower Marsh.[6] After his divorce from her, he married another widow, Elizabeth, daughter of—Reynolds, and relict of—Loghene. By a will dated in May 1558 and proved five months later, he directed that he should be buried in the Lady Chapel at Dunster, which almost adjoined his residence.[7] He left issue three sons :—

Hugh, heir to his father.

George, buried at Dunster on the 12th of February 1586. His will was proved at Taunton.

John, married, on the 10th of April 1570, Christine, daughter of Robert Gough of Dunster, clothier.[8] Their only child, Rebecca, baptized in July 1572,

[1] Inq. post mortem, 1 Hen. V. no. 25 B ; 1 Hen. VI. no. 57.

[2] Inq. post mortem, 8 Hen. VI. no. 35 ; 38 Hen. VI. no. 33 ; 12 Edw. IV. no. 30.

[3] Inq. post mortem, 16 Edw. IV. no. 1. B.

[4] Thoroton ; Stapleton, p. 320.

[5] Genealogical details in this section are based upon Narcissus Luttrell's MS. and Vivian's *Visitations of Devon.*

[6] Pages 133, 409-411, 413, 420-422, 424, 461, 462.

[7] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi. p. 15.

[8] *Ibid.* p. 22.

lived just twelve months. John Luttrell was buried on the 21st of April 1580, whereupon his property at Dunster, held in burgage, was claimed by his litigious cousin, George Luttrell of Dunster Castle, as an escheat, on the score that he was a bastard. The validity of his father's divorce from his first wife may have been open to question, but the production of a will by which the younger John Luttrell bequeathed his house in High Street and an acre of land (called Skillacre) to his brother George, sufficed to stop any legal proceedings in the matter.[1] Christine Luttrell survived her husband only five months, being buried on the 29th of August.

HUGH LUTTRELL, eldest son of John and Elizabeth Luttrell, lived at Marshwood in the parish of Carhampton.[2] Under his father's will, he was to inherit some plate if he married Margaret Loghene, but it does not appear that the condition was fulfilled. Unless his father was married thrice, the lady thus proposed to him as a wife was his own half-sister. On the 1st of October 1565, he was married at East Quantockshead to Philippa, daughter of Robert Opy of Bodmin, the lessee of part of Dunster Castle. He was buried on the 30th of April 1574, and his relict married Edward Stradling.[3] She had borne him two sons and three daughters:—

Andrew, heir to his father.
Thomas, died under age in 1573 or 1574.[4]
Cecily, baptized at East Quantockshead on the 10th of November 1569.
Margaret, married to Robert Wheddon of Dorset.
Honour, married at St. Bride's, London, on the 24th of May 1606, to Philip Stanton of Kent.

ANDREW LUTTRELL, son of Hugh, married Susan, daughter of Richard Ley of East Down in Devonshire, and settled there.[5] They had issue five sons and four daughters :—

Edward, heir to his father.

[1] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi. p. 16.
[2] D.C.M. xx. 6, 11, 13.
[3] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi. p. 15; Chancery Proceedings, Ss. 11, no. 41.
[4] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi. pp. 15, 16.
[5] Chancery Proceedings, L. 13. no. 68.

Philip, baptized on the 10th of June 1600.
Andrew, baptized on the 13th of July 1606, and buried on the 28th of May 1646. He had issue :—
Andrew, baptized on the 9th of August 1632, and buried on the 23rd of October 1670.
Francis, baptized on the 12th of May 1634.
Richard, baptized on the 30th of July 1609, and buried on the 15th of April 1613.
Hugh, baptized on the 11th of January 1618. He had issue two sons :—
Hugh, baptized on the 5th of October 1648.
Andrew, baptized on the 30th of September 1651. Both these sons were living in 1671, when Alice their mother made a will which was proved in the same year at Barnstaple.
Margaret, baptized on the 28th of June 1601.
Elizabeth, baptized on the 10th of January 1604.
Susan, baptized on the 5th of April 1612.
Wilmot, baptized on the 20th of July 1623.

Edward Luttrell of East Down, eldest son of Andrew, was baptized on the 8th of March 1599. From his grandfather, Richard Ley, he inherited some land at Winsford.[1] In February 1629, he married Frances daughter of Thomas Collard of Spaxton, clothier, and he migrated thither.[2] He was buried at Spaxton on the 5th of May 1664, and his relict was buried there on the 13th of June 1670. They had issue three sons and five daughters :—

Andrew, buried on the 19th of May 1665. His will contains a mention of lands in Cornwall.[3]
Thomas, baptized on the 9th of January 1630. He had issue a son of the same name, mentioned in the will of his grandmother Frances Luttrell, dated 1670 and proved at Bridgewater in the following year. The will of Thomas Luttrell of Clevedon, husbandman, dated and proved in 1684, mentions a wife Joan, a son Thomas, a daughter Mary, and a daughter Prudence Jones.[4]

[1] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi. p. 22.
[2] *Calendar of S.P. Dom. 1637*, p. 467; *1637-1638*, pp. 346, 435; *1638-1639*, pp. 138, 224.
[3] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. ii. p. 108.
[4] *Ibid.*

Edward, baptized on the 30th of June 1637, and buried on the 16th of November 1677.
Jewell, baptized at Spaxton on the 22nd of May 1631, and buried at East Down on the 9th of July.
Elizabeth, baptized on the 4th of April 1641.
Millicent, buried on the 23rd of February 1673.
Joan, baptized on the 30th of July 1647, married to —Brice.
Frances, married to John Bellamy.

The Luttrells of Honibere in Somerset and Hartland Abbey in Devonshire.[1]

Nicholas Luttrell, third son of Sir Andrew Luttrell of Dunster (p. 141), was born about 1532. Some provision was made for him by his father and renewed by his elder brother.[2] Under the will of his mother, who died in 1580, he should have received money and plate, including a gilt cup with a cover bearing the arms of Luttrell and Wyndham, but, in order to obtain delivery, he had to bring a suit against his sister Margaret Edgcumbe and her husband.[3] In 1562, he got from the Crown a grant of the manor of Honibere in the parish of Lilstock, concerning which he had a good deal of litigation.[4] He was buried at Lilstock on the 23rd of March 1591[-2]. A brass memorial ordered by his will does not appear to have been made, but there is an inscription on stone in memory of him, his wife, his mother-in-law, and his grand-daughter.[5] Jane his wife, daughter of Christopher Cheverell of Chantmerel in Dorset,

[1] Genealogical details in this section not authenticated by specific references are based upon Narcissus Luttrell's MS. and Vivian's *Visitations of Devon*. The latter, however, is not free from serious error.

[2] *Somerset Medieval Wills*, vol. iii. p. 41; Chancery Proceedings, Ll. 4, no. 5.

[3] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi. p. 15; Chancery Proceedings, Ll. 9, no. 9.

[4] Patent Roll, 4 Eliz. part. 5: Memoranda Roll, Hilary, 11 Eliz. m. 105; Feet of Fines, Somerset, Mich. 4 and 5 Eliz.; Chancery Proceedings, Ll. 9, no. 25; Series II. 114, no. 18; 116, no. 13.

[5] Inq. post mortem, C. II. 233 (109); Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi. p. 16.

survived until the 6th of June 1627. They had issue three sons and three daughters :—

Andrew, heir to his father.

Thomas, baptized at East Quantockshead on the 15th of March 1562. He matriculated at Broadgates Hall, Oxford, in 1579, whence he proceeded to Gray's Inn. He is described as a counsellor at law in 1602, and as living at Whitewyke in Somerset two years later.[1] His daughter Mary was buried at Lilstock on the 22nd of October 1612.

Hugh, of St. Nicholas in the Isle of Wight. He married Margaret, relict successively of Thomas Hobson and Richard Fitzjames. She administered to the personal estate in 1612, and died in 1627.[2] There were two daughters, Oriana, and Mary who married —Godfrey.

Margaret, baptized at East Quantockshead on the 12th of September 1563, married at Dodington, in July 1592, to Giles Dodington.

Eleanor, living in 1588.

Elizabeth, who predeceased her father and was buried in the chancel at Lilstock.

Andrew Luttrell, eldest son of Nicholas, was born about the year 1561. He matriculated at Broadgates Hall, Oxford, together with his brother Thomas, in 1579, and was afterwards admitted a student of Gray's Inn. In the early part of 1583, he married Prudence daughter and coheiress of William Abbot, of Hartland Abbey. He consequently migrated from Somerset to Devon. He was buried on the 26th of August 1625, and his relict was buried on the 13th of December 1639. They had issue six sons and five daughters :—

Nicholas, heir to his father.

John, ancestor of the Luttrells of Saunton Court (see below).

Andrew, of Luffincot, baptized on the 14th of May 1587. He married at Hartland, in October 1609,

[1] Chancery Proceedings, Ii, 3, no. 38; L. 6, no. 26.

[2] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi. pp. 16, 17 ; Chancery Proceedings, L. 7. no. 49.

Mary daughter of John Punchard of Pilton, and had issue three daughters :—Grace, who was born in 1615 and died in 1617, and Anne, and Elizabeth, who were living in 1633.[1] He died in 1621.

William, baptized on the 24th of December 1592. He married, in 1631, Rebecca daughter of Thomas Docton, and by her had issue three daughters :— Prudence born in 1632 ; Grace, born in 1633, who died in 1666 ; and Elizabeth, born in 1639. He died at a great age in January 1684.[2]

Charles, baptized on the 1st of January 1604, dead in 1631.

Richard, baptized on the 18th of January 1605.

Grace, baptized on the 24th of March 1590, married in January 1610 to Robert Loveys of Beardon.

Anne, baptized on the 3rd of December 1591, buried on the 4th of May 1596.

Elizabeth, baptized on the 18th of June 1597.

Prudence, baptized on the 11th of November 1601, married in November 1633 to Achilles Fortescue.

Anne, baptized on the 27th of July 1610, buried three days later.

Nicholas Luttrell, eldest son of Andrew, was baptized on the 6th of January 1584. He married, in February 1607, Elizabeth, daughter of Anthony Monk of Potheridge. There is a monument in memory of him in the church at Hartland, where he was buried on the 9th of April 1637. His relict was buried there on the 26th of August 1653. They had issue seven sons and three daughters :—

Anthony, heir to his father.

Nicholas, buried on the 14th of April 1648.[3]

Francis, baptized on the 18th of October 1612, buried on the 6th of March 1657.

John, baptized on the 28th of November 1613, married on the 21st of December 1650 to Jane daughter of Thomas Docton. He was buried on the 23rd of

[1] Will of Anne Punchard (P.C.C.) ; Chancery Proceedings, H. 31, no. 48 ; H. 32, no. 30.

[2] Hist. MSS. Comm. Report v, App. p. 574.

[3] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi. p. 17.

January 1672 ; she was buried on the 23rd of May 1680. They had issue four daughters :—

Elizabeth, baptized on the 29th of December 1651, married on the 8th of May 1680 to William Galsworthy.

Eleanor, baptized on the 25th of April 1653, married on the 25th of July 1681 to John Stephens.

Mary, baptized on the 17th of August 1654, buried on the 29th of November in the same year.

Jane, baptized on the 23rd of December 1655.

Thomas, baptized on the 1st of May 1616. He married, on the 23rd of January 1666, Wilmot daughter of Nicholas Cholwill of Hartland and relict of Richard Docton of the same parish. She was buried on the 26th of April 1671 ; he was buried on the 15th of September 1694.

Arthur, baptized on the 1st of November 1618.

Edward, baptized on the 26th of March 1620. He matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford in 1638, and died there four years later.[1]

Mary, buried on the 11th of December 1655.

Elizabeth, baptized on the 29th of December 1614, buried on the 18th of April 1656.

Eleanor, baptized on the 7th of September 1617, buried on the 20th of December 1647.

Anthony Luttrell, eldest son of Nicholas, was over twenty-five years of age at the time of his father's death. He married firstly, on the 21st of July 1636, Mary daughter of the Rev. Edward Cotton, Rector of Shobrooke.[2] By her, who was buried on the 7th of April 1646, he had issue four sons and three daughters :—

Edward, heir to his father.

William, buried on the 27th of January 1655.

Nicholas, living in 1643.

Anthony, living in 1643.

[1] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi. p. 17.

[2] Inq. post mortem, C. II. 549 (84). A pedigree of the Cotton family, registered at the College of Arms, erroneously calls her daughter and coheiress of William Cotton of Hartland.

Margaret, married on the 31st of January 1662 to Thomas Saltren.

Elizabeth, baptized on the 17th of September 1643, buried on the 18th of April 1656.

Mary, baptized on the 16th of March 1645, buried on the 11th of December 1655.

Anthony Luttrell of Hartland Abbey married secondly a certain Mary, who was buried on the 13th of December 1659. By her he had issue four sons and three daughters :—

Andrew, baptized on the 11th of October 1648 and buried on the 25th of November in the same year.

Thomas, baptized on the 16th of October 1649, and buried on the 8th of September 1694.

Christopher, baptized on the 26th of January 1654 and buried on the 3rd of March 1655.

Arthur, baptized on the 10th of August 1656 and buried on the 5th of December in the same year.

Jane, baptized on the 31st of August 1650, married, on the 1st of January 1670, to John Mugford.

Prudence, baptized on the 26th of September 1651, and buried on the 10th of April following.

Grace, baptized on the 9th of August 1675, married on the 20th of November, 1678 to Peter Cole.

Anthony Luttrell was buried on the 1st of October 1663.

Edward Luttrell, his eldest son, was admitted a student of the Inner Temple in 1653. He married Mary Rogers on the 3rd of July 1663, and by her had issue two children :—

Nicholas, heir to his father.

Elizabeth, baptized on the 6th of December 1664, married on the 28th of November 1698 to Thomas Atkin.

Edward Luttrell was buried on the 21st of March 1666, but his relict did not obtain letters of administration until 1672.

Nicholas Luttrell, the only son, was baptized on the 24th of July 1663, a few weeks only after the marriage of his parents. He was educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, and was one of a number of young men of substance who were selected by the Vice-Chancellor to receive the

degree of A.M. in commemoration of a visit from the King. In the spring of the same year, 1682, when he was less than nineteen years of age, he was married, at Caldecot or Cambridge, to Mary daughter of John Creed, a bookseller in the university town. Being admitted a student of Gray's Inn, he resided chiefly in London, and he died in the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn, in 1694. Mary, his only child, married Paul Orchard of Aldercombe in Cornwall, the owner of several burgages at Dunster. After her death without issue in November 1722, he continued in possession of Hartland Abbey, and it passed at his death to Paul, his son by a second wife, and so, after a long interval, to Lewis William Buck of Affeton, the grandfather of the present owner, Sir Lewis Stucley.

Although the history of the Luttrells of Hartland Abbey is singularly jejune, a mere list of obscure names and unimportant dates, it is not without some interest from a statistical point of view. Thus the genealogist who is accustomed to allow three generations to a century, may observe that no less than five owners of the estate, each representing a separate generation, died between 1625 and 1694. Then again it is worthy of notice that although sixteen sons were born between 1610 and 1663, the family had by 1694 become extinct in the male line.

The Luttrells of Saunton Court in Devonshire and their descendants. [1]

John Luttrell, second son of Andrew and Prudence Luttrell of Hartland Abbey, was baptized at Hartland on the 28th of December 1584. When he was about twenty-six years of age, he entered into an arrangement with his grandmother, Jane Luttrell, by which she ceded to him for her life the greater part of her house at Honibere, and all her lands in the parishes of Lilstock and Kilton, he

[1] The earlier part of this section is based upon Narcissus Luttrell's MS. and a MS. in the possession of Mr. Webber-Incledon of Alcombe.

undertaking to pay her 30*l.* a year and to find her and three other persons in meat, drink, and fuel. In 1614, however, he migrated to Devonshire, buying Saunton Court and other property in the parish of Braunton from Arthur Chichester, Lord Belfast, for the sum of 4,500*l.* Jane Luttrell, who describes herself as "impotent, aged, lame, and weak," accordingly filed a bill against him in Chancery.[1] He died soon after, on the 24th of February 1617, and was buried at Braunton.[2] Frances his relict, daughter of Sir Edward Gorges of Wraxall, married secondly Sir Edward Southcote, and died in 1651. By her John Luttrell had issue four children:—

John, his heir.
Francis (see below p. 521).
Edward (see below p. 525).
Dorothy, baptized at Braunton on the 26th of February 1615, and married at Radipole in Dorset, on the 2nd of March 1632, to Jonas Dennis of Weymouth, merchant.

John Luttrell, eldest son of John and Frances, was baptized at his mother's old home at Wraxall on the 21st of October 1610. He was consequently little more than six years of age at the time of his father's death. Taking up arms on behalf of the Parliament, he became a Colonel, but he was killed in a skirmish between Milverton and Wiveliscombe in January 1645, and buried at Taunton.[3] He had married in 1629, when under age, Rachael daughter of Francis Hardy of Sydling St. Nicholas in Dorset. She administered to his estate, and was buried at Braunton in December 1653. They had issue three sons and four daughters:—

Southcote.
John, buried at Braunton on the 30th of June 1658.
Arthur, baptized there on the 17th of October 1638.
Elizabeth, baptized there on the 8th of May 1630.
Catherine, baptized there on the 3rd of June 1631.

[1] Chancery Proceedings, James I. L. 5, no. 30.
[2] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi. p. 16.
[3] According to another account the fatal skirmish was in February. *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xciii. p. 494.

Rachael.
Frances.

Southcote Luttrell, son and heir of Colonel John Luttrell, presumably so named after his step-grandfather Sir Edward Southcote, was baptized at Dorchester on the 23rd of July 1632. He was admitted to the Middle Temple in November 1655. In the following month, he married Amy daughter of John Pyncombe of Poughill in Devon, the ceremony being performed by a justice of the peace and afterwards by the minister of the parish. She died six months later and was buried at Braunton. On the 10th of May 1662, Southcote Luttrell married a second wife, Anne daughter of John Codrington of Didmarton in Gloucestershire. By her he had issue three sons and four daughters:—

John, baptized at Braunton on the 11th of October 1666.
Southcote, his heir.
Robert, baptized at Braunton on the 13th of November 1677, and buried on the 11th of September 1679.
Frances, baptized there on the 2nd of March 1670, and buried on the 4th of January following.
Anne, baptized there on the 29th of January 1679.
Elizabeth, baptized there on the 14th of July 1680. She married there in 1711 Marshall Ayres of Heavitree.
Rachael, baptized there on the 2nd of March 1685.

Anne Luttrell was buried at Braunton on the 6th of March 1685, almost immediately after the birth of her youngest child. In October 1686, Southcote Luttrell married a third wife, Joan daughter of—Mercer, and relict successively of William Avory and Hugh Trevelyan of Yarnscombe, by whom he had no issue. About the year 1719, his first-cousin Edward Luttrell came with his wife to Saunton Court, on a visit which was indefinitely prolonged. They seem in fact to have established a complete ascendancy over their aged host and relative. In September 1720, when he was eighty-eight years of age, he made an elaborate settlement of his landed estate, entailing it on his only surviving son, Southcote Luttrell the second, with remainder to his cousin Edward Luttrell. The effect of

this was to exclude his own heirs general, bearing the name of Ayres, and his heir male, Narcissus Luttrell. There is an entry by the latter :—

> "Southcot Luttrell of Santon Court in Branton parish in the county of Devon, esquire, died there at his house on Friday 7 July 1721 in the evening, and was buried in the said parish church of Branton, under the communion table there, upon Tuesday 11 of the same July, between 6 and 7 that morning, without any one to attend him, by the contrivance and order of that villain Edward Luttrell, his kinsman."

Southcote Luttrell the second was baptized at Braunton on the 17th of October 1672. He matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, in July 1690. Some twelve years later, he lost the use of his reason. In 1738, Mary relict of Edward Luttrell was appointed committee of his person, and, in the following year, she was succeeded in that office by Philip Lethbridge.[1] Like his father, Southcote Luttrell the second lived to a great age. At his death in November 1751, he was buried at Braunton. His personalty went to his nephew, Marshall Ayres of the Middle Temple; his real estate passed under the settlement of 1720 to Southcote Hungerford Luttrell, the posthumous son of his third cousin, Captain Edward Luttrell.

An intermediate line of Luttrells, debarred from the succession, had by this date become extinct :—

Francis Luttrell, second son of John and Frances mentioned above (p. 519), was baptized at Stoke Courcy on the 14th of March 1613. He was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1631. Dying in April 1677, he was buried in the lower chancel of the church of St. Giles in the Fields.[2] He had married at Bristol, on the 8th of December 1641, Catherine daughter of Narcissus Mapowder of Holsworthy in Devonshire. She died at her house in Holborn on the 20th of February 1685, and was buried beside her husband, to whom she had borne nine children :—

Francis (1), baptized and buried at St. Margaret's Westminster in March 1647.

[1] Lunacy Commissions (Petty Bag), L. no. 25.

[2] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi. p. 18.

Francis (2), baptized at St. Giles's on the 17th of November 1655 and buried at St. Andrew's, Holborn on the 20th of October 1656.

Narcissus, heir to his father.

Charles, baptized at St. Giles's on the 24th of July 1663, and buried there on the 9th of October in the same year.

Jane, born at Clovelly in Devonshire in 1643, and buried at St. Andrew's, Holborn, on the 8th of November 1647.

Frances, baptized at St. Andrew's on the 9th of May 1648, and buried there on the 1st of July 1657.

Catherine, baptized at Clerkenwell on the 9th of August 1653. On the 2nd of July 1677, she was married to George Lowe of Lincoln's Inn, at St. Dunstan's in the West. They were both buried at St. Albans.

Dorothy, born in 1658, married at St. Giles's, on the 18th of December 1688, to Owen Wynne, afterwards Warden of the Mint and Under-Secretary of State.

Abigail, baptized at St. Giles's on the 13th of February 1661; died at Lawrence Waltham in Berkshire on the 30th of August 1669.

Narcissus Luttrell, third and only surviving son of Francis and Catherine mentioned above (p. 521), was born in Holborn on the 12th of August 1657 and baptized twelve days later by the singular name of his maternal grandfather. Following the example of his father, he became a student of Gray's Inn, in August 1673. In the earlier part of the following year, he was admitted a Fellow Commoner of St. John's College, Cambridge, but he did not spend more than nine months at the University, and the degree of A.M. conferred upon him in 1675 was obtained by royal mandate. Through private influence, he was returned to Parliament as member for Bossiney in 1679 and for Saltash in 1690. Although called to the bar in 1680, he does not seem to have practised. So again, although placed in the Commission of the Peace for Middlesex in 1693, he did not even take the necessary oaths for more than twelve years. Nevertheless he duly recorded his successive honorary

appointments as a Deputy Lieutenant, a Commissioner of Oyer and Terminer, a Commissioner of Sewers, a Commissioner for Land Tax, and Treasurer for Maimed Soldiers and Mariners. When his name was omitted from the Commission of the Peace for Middlesex in 1723, he noted that the Lord Chancellor had been instigated by Robert Walpole, in consequence of " some cursed lyes and stories made to the said Walpole by one Sir Richard Gough. "

For many years Narcissus Luttrell lived in Holborn, opposite to the *Three Cups* Tavern, but at Christmas 1710, he went to reside at Little Chelsea, on a property which he had bought from the Earl of Shaftesbury. There he formed a very considerable library of historical books, and a collection of the political pamphlets, broadsides, and verses of his own time. He is chiefly remembered as the compiler of *A brief historical Relation of State Affairs* from 1678 to 1714, which was published for the University of Oxford in 1847 in six volumes, with only two pages of preface and an indifferent index. The work is in no sense a literary composition, being merely a transcript of selections from the ephemeral gazettes and newsletters of the period, supplied to subscribers and visible at coffee-houses.

In this place Narcissus Luttrell deserves honourable mention on account of his unwearied, careful and valuable researches into the history of his own family. When staying at Dunster, he collated Prynne's catalogue of the muniments at the Castle with the original documents, and made countless emendations in it. He furthermore collected for himself all the notices that he could find of the Luttrells, in printed books, in manuscripts at the Tower of London, the College of Arms, the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and other repositories, and in parish registers in various counties. It is characteristic of the man that he was satisfied to make minute and laborious copies without attempting to sift his material or to compile any consecutive account of the family.

Thomas Hearne, the Oxford antiquary, seems to have been somewhat jealous of Narcissus Luttrell's library " collected in a lucky hour at very reasonable rates, " and has left some unfavourable remarks on him :—

> "Though he was so curious and diligent in collecting and amassing together, yet he affected to live so private as hardly to be known in person; and yet for all that he must be attended to his grave by judges and the first of his profession in the law, to whom (such was the sordidness of his temper) he would not have given a meal's meat in his life.
>
> "As a recommendation of his collection of books, we are told it was preserved in that place where Mr. Lock and Lord Shaftesbury studied, whose principles it may be he imbibed. No doubt but it is a very extraordinary collection."

Hearne was a Nonjuror; Luttrell was a Whig.

"After a tedious indisposition," Narcissus Luttrell died on the 27th of June 1732.[1] He was buried at Chelsea on the 6th of July. He had been married twice. Sarah his first wife was the daughter of Daniel Baker of Hatton Garden, and the wedding took place at St. Giles's in the Fields on the 28th of February 1682. She bore him one son, Francis. Dying on the 9th of July 1722, she "was buried by her disconsolate husband on the north side of the chancell of Chelsea Church, under the pew known by the name of the Bishop's Pew upon Tuesday 17 of July 1722 about 7 in the evening." Some three years afterwards, on the 13th of May 1725, Narcissus Luttrell was married in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn to Mary daughter of John Bearsley of Wolverhampton, by virtue of a licence from the Archbishop of Canterbury granted eleven months before. The only issue of this marriage was a boy named Narcissus, born on the 27th of January 1727, and buried in the middle aisle of Chelsea Church seven days later, having been "lost meerly by the carelesnesse of the nurse." Mary Luttrell survived her husband some years and was buried at Chelsea on the 5th of October 1745.

Francis Luttrell, son of Narcissus and Sarah mentioned above, was baptized at St. Andrew's Holborn, on the 12th of December 1682. He was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1700, and called to the bar eight years later. In course of time he became a Bencher, and he was Treasurer of the Inn at the time of his death, on the 5th of June 1749. Like his parents, he was buried at Chelsea. Hearne describes him as "a bookish man," and some of his letters on literary

[1] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi. p. 20.

subjects have been preserved.[1] There is a portrait of him at Dunster Castle. As he never married, one branch of the Luttrell family came to an end in him.

It is now necessary to revert to EDWARD LUTTRELL, third son of John Luttrell of Saunton Court by Frances his wife mentioned above (p. 519). Baptized at Braunton on the 2nd of November 1616, this Edward Luttrell was admitted to Gray's Inn at the age of sixteen. Little is known about him except that he died in Rose Alley, near Holborn, in March 1668 and was buried at St. Andrew's. Three years later, administration of his goods was granted to the principal creditor, his relict named Dorothy renouncing. She was buried on the south side of the churchyard of St. Giles, on the 1st of July 1697. Francis Luttrell, son of Edward and Dorothy, was buried at St. Andrew's, Holborn, on the 10th of November 1657.

EDWARD LUTTRELL, an attorney, another son of Edward and Dorothy, married a lady named Mary, whose maiden name is not known. As stated above (p. 520), they went to stay with his cousin Southcote Luttrell the elder at Saunton Court about 1719, and took up their abode there. Narcissus Luttrell, supplanted by this Edward Luttrell, calls him "that villain" and "that rascal." Administration of the goods of Edward Luttrell was granted to the relict Mary in 1737. She was buried at Braunton some two years later. They had issue a son Edward, and a daughter Charlotte, who was baptized at the Savoy Chapel in April 1695.

EDWARD LUTTRELL the third, son of Edward and Mary, predeceased his father by several years. Nothing is known as to the exact date of his birth, or that of his marriage to Anne daughter of Sir George Hungerford of Cadenham in Wiltshire. At the end of 1713, he received a commission in the first regiment of Foot Guards and he afterwards became a Lieutenant, with the titular rank of Captain. The circumstances connected with his untimely death have been very minutely recorded, but a brief notice of them will here suffice.

On the 17th of October 1721, two bailiffs named Reason

[1] *Hearne's Collections*, vol. iii. pp. 273, 426; vol. v. p. 238; vol. vii. p. 367.

and Tranter arrested Captain Luttrell in Surrey Street, between the Strand and the river Thames, for a debt of 10*l.* At his request they accompanied him to his lodging there and he got the necessary money from his young wife. On his refusal, however, to give them three guineas for their 'civility,' high words ensued. Being called a rogue, a rascal and a 'minter,' he struck Tranter on the head with a walking cane, and Reason retaliated by stabbing him in nine places and shooting him with one of his own pistols. The bailiffs were tried for murder in the following year and were found guilty of manslaughter. Although the jury would have liked them to be hanged for their brutality, they were merely branded on the hand.[1] Surviving the affray in Surrey Street by several hours, Edward Luttrell the younger was able to make a short will in favour of his wife, who was then *enceinte*.[2] He was buried at St. Clement Danes. Some four months afterwards, the widow bore a son who was christened by the names of Southcote Hungerford, but she did not long survive his birth and was buried in the chancel of Bremhill church in Wiltshire on the 25th of June 1722. Although she left 100*l.* for the erection of a monument there in memory of her mother and herself, her directions to this effect seem to have been disregarded. Most of her property passed by will to her brother, Walter Hungerford, in trust for her only child.[3]

Southcote Hungerford Luttrell, the posthumous orphan, obtained a commission as Second Lieutenant in the Marines in January 1741. Fifteen months later, he became a Captain in the regiment afterwards known as the 45th Foot, and he was promoted to the rank of Major in 1750. The exact date of his marriage and the maiden name of his wife are alike unknown. In 1769, a certain Mrs. Jane Sheppard was stated to be ready to swear at the Sarum Assizes that the marriage was solemnized in her presence "at *(sic)* South Carolina."[4] Major Luttrell's regiment was for some time quartered in Nova Scotia, and his second child was born at

[1] Howell's *State Trials*,, vol. xvi. pp. 1-45; *The widow Lutterell's cry for justice for the blood of her murthered husband*, etc. *drawn up by a gentleman of the Inner Temple*, 8vo. 1722.

[2] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi. p. 19.

[3] *Ibid*; Hoare's *Hungerfordiana*.

[4] The family tradition that he was married at Halifax seems more credible.

Halifax in that colony in 1785. Affairs in England then required his presence, and, in October of that year, Captain Alexander Murray succeeded him as Major, having apparently bought his commission.

On the death of Southcote Luttrell, the lunatic, in November 1751, Southcote Hungerford Luttrell had succeeded, under the entail of 1720, to Saunton Court and the property that went with it. In 1750, his uncle and former guardian, Walter Hungerford, had left him 1000*l.* in full settlement of all accounts between them, and the will to this effect had been proved in 1754. He had also been named as a possible inheritor of part of the Hungerford estate.

After his return to England, Southcote Hungerford Luttrell and Mary his wife lived for a while at Saunton Court, but in 1757 they suffered a recovery of the whole estate, in order to bar the entail, and it was soon sold to John Clevland of Tapley Park.[1] Mary Luttrell predeceased her husband, who, after the sale of Saunton Court, resided chiefly at Exeter. He had also some connexion with Falmouth. He died on the 3rd of October 1766 and was buried on the 9th. Letters of administration were issued in the following year to his maternal cousin, Abigail Blake, his four children, Elizabeth, Wilmot Hungerford, Edward, and John being under age, the last a mere baby.

Wilmot Hungerford Luttrell, the eldest son, was baptized at St. Paul's, Halifax, in Nova Scotia, on the 31st of August 1755. He was nearly twenty-six years of age when he obtained fresh letters of administration to his father's estate, in 1781.[3] Soon after this, he and his two brothers sold to H. Merewether their reversionary rights in a moiety of the manor of Rodbourne in Wiltshire, under the will of their cousin George Hungerford, who died in 1764. He is believed to have died unmarried about 1814, but nothing is really known as to this.

Edward Luttrell, the second son of Major Southcote Hungerford Luttrell, was born in England in 1757. Elizabeth Hungerford, relict of George Hungerford of

[1] Recovery Roll, Trin. 30 and 31 Geo. II; Close Roll 31 Geo. II. part 2. m. 16; Lysons's *Devonshire*, p. 65.

[2] Admon. in P.C.C.

[3] *Ibid*; Papers belonging to the Wiltshire Archæological Society.

Studley House, near Calne, was his godmother. He was practising as a surgeon at Tonbridge in 1792 when he wrote a short account of a treatment of gangrene with alkalis and acids.[1] An official despatch of the 30th of November 1803 describes him as a surgeon of considerable reputation in Kent, who was about to proceed to New South Wales on board the *Experiment*, with a view to settling there. A colonial return made two years later shows that he then had a wife and seven children. From January 1807 to September 1808, he was acting as surgeon on H.M.S. *Porpoise*, a store-ship stationed off the coast of New South Wales. Having then leave from the Captain to go inland to visit his family at Paramatta, he fell ill and was unable to return when summoned. Commodore Bligh, however, his irascible superior, refused to believe his story, and said that he must come on board dead or alive. Eventually an 'R'. was put against his name in the ship's book, to indicate that he had 'run,' and this stigma was not removed until after a consideration of the case by the Board of Admiralty more than ten years later. From New South Wales Dr. Edward Luttrell removed to Van Dieman's Land, where he became Surgeon General. Dying on the 10th of June 1824, he was buried at Hobart. Martha his relict, daughter of the Rev.—Walters, was buried beside him in May 1832.

The Luttrell family in the Australian colonies has so increased and spread that it has not been found practicable to give details here of the births, marriages and deaths of its different scions. Of Dr. Edward Luttrell's six sons, four indeed died without issue. Hungerford, the eldest, a surgeon, died of fever off the coast of Africa. Edward, the second, was lost at sea in the Indian Ocean on board the *Governor Macquarie*, in 1811. Robert, the third, was killed by natives at Paramatta in New South Wales, in 1812. Oscar, the fifth, was killed by natives near Melbourne in 1838.

Alfred Luttrell, fourth son of Dr. Edward Luttrell, died at Hobart in February 1865. He had issue seven sons:—Edward, John, Alfred, Robert, Frederick, William and Edwin, and five daughters.

[1] Watts *Bibliotheca Britannica.*

Edgar Luttrell, sixth son of Dr. Edward Luttrell, died at Hobart in May 1865. He had issue seven sons, Edward Hungerford, Edgar, Wilmot Southcote Hungerford, George Walter, Edmund B. S., Tasman, and Alfred, and four daughters.

John Luttrell, the youngest son of Major Southcote Hungerford Luttrell, was, in 1775, articled as a clerk to an attorney at Bridgewater.[1] He afterwards practised law on his own account at Northleach in Gloucestershire, in London, and perhaps elsewhere. In February 1788, he married, at Kingston Church, Portsmouth, Hannah daughter of William Taylor, paymaster of the dockyard there, and afterwards Deputy Paymaster of the Royal Navy at Somerset House. He died in or soon after 1832, having had issue two sons, St. John, and Hungerford, and a daughter, Mary, who married Captain Fleming.

The eldest son, St. John Luttrell, entered the Royal Navy in July 1804. While serving on board the *Herald* in the Mediterranean in May 1808, he was put in charge of a prize which foundered with all hands.

Hungerford Luttrell, the second son, born at Chester on the 21st of January 1793, and privately baptized, had a varied but unsatisfactory career. Entering the Royal Navy as a volunteer in 1807, he served continuously until April 1811, when he quitted the *Colossus* with the intention of joining the Army. In the January, however, he was a Midshipman on board the *Impetueux*. He was finally entered as having "run" from the *Namur* in November 1814. Proceeding to Columbia, he took part in a local war, with the rank of Captain and Aide de Camp to General Arismendi. According to his own account, he fell ill and returned to England without having received due remuneration.

In December 1819, he was established at Portsmouth, where he married Maria daughter of Thomas Jervoise of the Victualling Department. Some years later, his father put him into communication with a certain W. A. Grobecker, who said that, if sufficiently paid, he could procure for him a post under government. The father seems also to have expected a commission. Eventually Hungerford Luttrell

[1] King's Bench, Series I. no. 3872.

paid 300*l.* to Grobecker, and went to Scotland as chief officer of the Coast-guard at Stranraer. After a few months, however, he was recalled on the ground that, at the time of his appointment, he was eleven days over the limit of age, thirty-five years. The Treasury resolved to prosecute Grobecker, and gave Luttrell a temporary allowance of 5*s.* a day. When it ceased, he considered himself much aggrieved and sent memorials to the Lords Commissioners, to the Duke of Wellington, and to the King, culminating in a pamphlet published in 1830.

Hungerford Luttrell was the last male member of the family resident in England. He had issue two daughters, Harriet Maria Hungerford, the wife of J. C. Bicknell, and Matilda Hungerford, who died unmarried.

John Luttrell of Mapperton in Dorset and his descendants.

John Luttrell, second son of Thomas and Margaret Luttrell (page 171), was baptized at Dunster on the 26th of May 1566. He was admitted a student of the Middle Temple in February 1584, and he is described, in 1612, as an "ancient utter barrister" of that society.[1] Marrying Anne daughter of Richard Bampfield of Poltimore in Devon, and relict of Christopher Morgan of South Mapperton in Dorset, he came to be known as 'John Luttrell of Mapperton.'[2] Through the interest of his brother, the lord of Dunster, he was elected one of the Members of Parliament for Minehead in 1586 and 1588.[3] A will made by him in July 1620 was proved in the same year.[4] He had issue:—

Amias, so called after his maternal uncle, Sir Amias Bampfield. He was admitted a student of the

[1] *Middle Temple Records*, vol. i. p. 265; vol. ii. p. 553.

[2] Hutchins's *History of Dorset*, vol. ii. p. 158; Chancery Proceedings, Ll. 8. no. 46; 9 no. 69.

[3] *Return of Members of Parliament*, vol. i. pp. 419, 424.

[4] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi. p. 16.

Middle Temple in 1614, but he died within the next five years.[1]

Hugh, died young.

John, matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, in 1615, and was admitted a student of the Middle Temple four years later.[2] He was living in 1620.

George, of King's College, Cambridge, and afterwards of Cheddington in Dorset, clerk in holy orders. He was dead by December 1659, when his only son of the same name was mentioned in an elaborate entail of the Dunster estate. Margaret relict of the elder George Luttrell obtained letters of administration in 1661.[3]

Anne, married Thomas Weston of Callow Weston in Dorset.[4]

The Luttrells of Rodhuish in Somerset.

Hugh Luttrell, second son of George and Joan Luttrell of Dunster (p. 176), was baptized there on the 29th of February 1587. He had property at Rodhuish in the parish of Carhampton and Northridge and West Myne in that of Minehead. He was living in 1656.[5] He married at Charlton Makerel, on the 13th of July 1629, Jane daughter of Thomas Lyte of Lytescary in that parish, and by her had issue three sons and four daughters :—

Thomas, heir to his father.

Hugh (1), baptized at Carhampton on the 18th of December 1639, and buried there twelve days later.

Hugh (2), baptized at Carhampton on the 21st of April 1641, and buried there on the 10th of May following.

Jane, married to Lewis Cave of Old Cleeve.

Frances.

[1] *Middle Temple Records*, vol. ii. p. 584.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 642.
[3] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi. p. 18.
[4] Heralds' Visitation of Dorset, 1677.
[5] D.C.M. III. 12 ; Hancock's *Minehead*, p. 213.

Susan, baptized at Carhampton on the 8th of April 1634, married to John Everard of Otterhampton, and died in 1678.

Margaret, baptized at Carhampton on the 10th of December 1638, and buried there a year later.

Thomas Luttrell, eldest son of Hugh and Jane Luttrell, was baptized at Carhampton on the 19th of July 1637, and was buried there on the 22nd of July 1714. By Catherine his wife, daughter of the Rev. Gregory Sindercombe of Bishop's Lydeard, he had issue two children, a daughter Jane who, in 1696, married Thomas Prowse, and a son of his own name.

Thomas Luttrell, son of Thomas and Catherine Luttrell, was born about 1668. Failing male issue to his cousins Colonel Francis Luttrell, and Colonel Alexander Luttrell, he would have succeeded to the Dunster estate, under the entail of 1659. He was educated at Westminster under the famous Dr. Busby, at the expense of Colonel Francis Luttrell of Dunster Castle, although his own father was living. About once a year, he was supplied with a fresh outfit, comprising a cloth coat lined with silk, a waistcoat of cloth or silk, both adorned with silver buttons and blue figured ribbon, breeches, worsted stockings and a white hat. In 1683, there was a charge of 6*l.* 10*s.* for "6 shirts, 6 handkerchers, 8 cravatts, and 6 night capps." The following, although unsigned, is not without interest as illustrative of the cost of a commoner's education :—

"An account of what is due to me for a yeare and quarter's lodging and dietting for Mr. Lutterell, beginning the 19 of October 1682 and ending the 19 of January 1683/4, and for what laid out.

	£.	s.	d.
"Gave to Dr. Busby his New Year's gift, 2 broad peices of gold,	2	12	0
To Mr. Knipe, the second master,	1	1	8
To the Doctor's usher,		10	0
To Knipe's usher,		5	0
To the Moniter of the schoole,		2	6
For 2 paire of stockings,		6	4
For mending of his cloths and cutting of his haire severall times,		6	6

Gave him for the *Omnia bene* and for makeing of his election theames,		6 ..	0
For 2 bands, 2 paire of cuffs, 6 paire of gloves and black ribbon,		10 ..	0
For paper, quills, wax candle, sealing wax, steele lined box, penn knife, ruler and satchell,		15 ..	0
For paper books, a Horace and Juvenall, a Terrence, a Claudian, a Prayer Book, a Horace, a Greek Epigrams, Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, Homer Expository, Dr. Duport's Psalms in Greek,	1 ..	6 ..	0
For sweeping of the schoole from the 19 of October '82 to the 19 January '83/4,		2 ..	6
For inke from the 19 of October 1682 to the 19 January 1683/4,		1 ..	8
Gave to Dr. Busby for a yeare and quarter's schooleing, ending 19 January '83/4,	5 ..	7 ..	8
For a year's and quarter's lodging and dietting for Mr. Lutterell, beginning the 19 of October 1682 and ending the 19 of January 1683/4, after the rate of 25*l.* per annum,	31 ..	5 ..	0
	44 ..	17 ..	10[1]

The bills for 1681 and 1682 amounted to 45*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* and 37*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* respectively, towards which Colonel Luttrell had paid only 50*l.* by a bill payable at twelve days' sight charged on Mr. Williams, goldsmith, in Lombard Street.

From Westminster Thomas Luttrell proceeded to Balliol College, Oxford, in 1685, and he afterwards became a Fellow of All Souls College. In 1703, he took the degree of Bachelor of Medicine. On the 19th of September 1706, he was married at Porlock to Jane Arundel late of Exford, said to have been a daughter of the Rev. Nathaniel Arundel. He died as he was leaving the Abbey Church of Bath, on the 13th of March 1720, but his corpse was removed to Carhampton and buried there two days later. His will was proved in the same year by his relict, Jane Luttrell.[2]

[1] The bill for Thomas Luttrell may be compared with those for his contemporary Francis Lynn, quoted in Collins's *Public Schools* (p. 115) from the *Evening Mail* of January 1834.

[2] Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi. p. 19.

Alexander Fownes Luttrell (1) and his descendants.

Alexander Fownes Luttrell (1), fourth son of Henry and Margaret, (p. 260), was baptized at Dunster on the 30th of November 1754, and educated at Pembroke College, Cambridge. In 1779, he was instituted to the Rectory of East Quantockshead, and in the following year to the Prebend of Combe Decima in Wells Cathedral, and also to the Vicarage of Minehead. Although holding two benefices with cure of souls, thirteen miles apart, he does not appear to have resided constantly on either. In February 1809, he wrote from St. Audries :—

> "I have lately received two letters from the Bishop. In the former one, he mentions the absolute necessity of my renewing my licence for non-residence, as otherwise he must represent me as such *(sic)* to the Privy Council at Lady Day next. In answer therefore, I requested him to grant me that (licence) for East Quantoxhead, there being—as I suggested to him—no occasion for one for Minehead, having a curate constantly residing thereon. He also made particular inquiries about the house there, in what state it was, and whether habitable. I represented it as by no means fit for any one's residence. Notwithstanding, he observes in his second letter the necessity of having one (licence) for that place also, and has in consequence sent me one for each place, valid till 1st January next. There cannot be any just reason, I think, for his thus acting, but merely to put an additional guinea into his Secretary's pocket."

The letter is characteristic of the manner in which ecclesiastical rules were regarded at the time. Alexander Fownes Luttrell married, in 1807, Lucy daughter of John Gatchell, who died in 1844. He predeceased her by many years, dying in 1816. They had issue a son and a daughter :—

Alexander Henry, born in 1808. He was instituted to the Vicarage of Minehead in 1832, and held it more than sixty-six years, until his death in February 1899. He married, in 1837, Charlotte daughter of the Rev. John Jeremy, who died in October 1887, and had issue two children :—

Alexander John, born in 1839 and died in 1851.

Margaret Charlotte, married in January 1870 to her cousin John Alexander Fownes Luttrell, R.N.

Caroline Lucy, born in 1811, married in 1836 to Edward Jordan Yeatman, H.E.I.C.S.

Francis Fownes Luttrell and his descendants.

Francis Fownes Luttrell, fifth son of Henry and Margaret (page 260), was born at Dunster on the 9th of February 1756, and baptized on the following day. A bill for his conveyance to Eton in January 1771, shows that the journey then took three days. On the first day, he rode to Bridgewater, and drove thence in a chaise to Piper's Inn, and so in another to Wells. On the second day, one chaise conveyed him to Bath, and a second to Devizes. On the third day, the route lay through Marlborough and Reading. In 1773, Francis Fownes Luttrell matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, and he eventually proceeded to the degree of D.C.L. In the meanwhile he was called to the bar at the Middle Temple. From 1780 to 1783, he sat in the House of Commons for the borough of Minehead, obviously as a stop-gap. In December 1793, he was appointed a Commissioner of Customs, and in course of time he became one of the Chairmen of the Board. He married, on the 21st of April 1788, Charlotte third daughter of Francis Drewe of Grange in Devonshire, a younger sister of his eldest brother's wife. They had issue five sons and seven daughters :—

Henry, born in London on the 3rd of February 1789, and baptized at Dunster on the 15th of October. He was educated at Westminster and at Christ Church, Oxford, where he became B.A. in 1810. Like his father, he joined the Society of the Middle Temple, but he died on the 20th of July 1813.

Francis, born on the 4th of July 1795, and died in infancy.

Francis Wynne, born on the 24th of June 1801, and died on the 10th of September 1820.

Edward (1), born on the 6th of October 1803, and died in infancy.

Edward (2), born on the 12th of November 1806, and died in infancy.

Charlotte, born on the 11th of May 1790, married on the 9th of August 1810, the Ven. Charles Abel Moysey, D.D. Archdeacon of Bath, and died in 1819.

Anne, born on the 4th of November 1791, married, on the 24th of July 1829, Abel Moysey of Charterhouse Hinton, and died in 1846.

Caroline, born on the 4th of February 1793, married, on the 20th of January 1823, Captain Henry Fanshawe, R.N., and died in 1863.

Louisa Frances, born on the 9th of May 1794, and died on the 18th of July 1817.

Maria, born on the 6th of November 1796, and died on the 10th of September 1820, at Hembury near Bristol.

Mary Frances, born on the 26th of April 1798, and died in 1872.

Marcia, born on the 15th of August 1799, married at Winchester, on the 4th of February 1842, Douglas Wynne Stuart.

Charlotte Luttrell, the mother of this large family, died on the 27th of April 1817. There is a very pleasing portrait of her at Dunster, drawn by Downman before her marriage. Her husband survived until the 29th of April 1823. There is a portrait of him at Bathealton Court.

Alexander Fownes Luttrell (2) and his descendants.

Alexander Fownes Luttrell (2), fourth son of John and Mary (p. 270), was born on the 28th of May 1793, and baptized at Dunster. He was educated at Eton and

J. Downman. *1781*

CHARLOTTE DREWE.

(MRS. F. FOWNES LUTTRELL.)

at Exeter College, Oxford, where he took the degree of B.C.L. In 1819, he was appointed to the rectory of East Quantockshead, which he held for almost seventy years. This long incumbency is in itself sufficiently remarkable. A more remarkable fact is that, after taking his eldest son to Eton, about the year 1840, he never passed a single night outside the walls of his own house, although not prevented either by want of means or health. He married, in May 1824, Jane daughter of William Leader of Putney Hill, who died in 1871. At the time of his own death, on the 18th of October 1888, he was probably the oldest Etonian and the oldest clergyman of the Church of England. He had issue two sons and two daughters :—

Henry Acland, of Badgworth Court, born in 1826, and educated at Eton, where he was Captain of the Boats. In 1845, he took the degree of M.A. at Trinity College, Oxford. Entering the army, he became a Captain in the Rifle Brigade, and afterwards Honorary Colonel of the 3rd Somerset Light Infantry. He was High Sheriff of Somerset in 1881, and was created a C.B. in 1887. He died at Badgworth Court on the 7th of July 1893, and was buried at Weare. By Mary Ann his wife, daughter of Joseph Ruscombe Poole, who married him in 1857, and died in March 1908, he had an only daughter, Eva.

John Alexander of Edington near Bridgewater, born on the 8th of December 1833. Entering the Royal Navy in October 1846, as an Admiralty Midshipman on the *Collingwood*, he eventually became a Post Captain. He died on the 2nd of August 1889. He married, on the 27th of January 1870, Margaret Charlotte, daughter of the Rev. Alexander Henry Fownes Luttrell, Vicar of Minehead, by whom he had issue :—

Alexander Collingwood, of Leacombe House, Axminster, born on the 21st of October 1870. He married, on the 4th of October 1898, Florence Blanche, daughter of the Rev. Henry Elliot Stapleton, and has issue two children, Alexander Henry, and Romola Margaret.

John Leader, born in November 1871. He entered the Royal Navy, and was mentioned in despatches in connexion with the expedition to Pekin. He died, a Lieutenant, on the 25th of October 1902.

Henry Jeremy, born in 1874, died in infancy.

Margaret Jane, married, in October 1898, Oswald Vavasour Yates.

Florence Louisa, married, in February 1903, the Rev. Geoffrey de Ybarrando Aldridge, Rector of Kingweston.

Fanny Harriet, married, in April 1861, John Blommart of Willett House.

Florence, married, in July 1851, Richard Augustus Bethell, afterwards second Lord Westbury.

APPENDIX D.

The Luttrells of Luttrellstown near Dublin.

The history of the Irish Luttrells is varied and interesting, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One of them is characterised as "a bad man, the father of a bad man, and the grandfather of a bad man."[1] They do not, however, come within the scope of the present work, which deals with such Luttrells only as were in some way connected with the lords of Dunster.

In the reign of George the Third, and possibly earlier, there was an idea that the Irish Luttrells were cadets of the old English family of that name. When Simon Luttrell of Luttrellstown near Dublin was raised to the peerage of Ireland in 1768, he was created Baron Irnham. So again when further honours were conferred upon him, he became Viscount Carhampton in 1781, and Earl of Carhampton in 1785. The titles selected imply that he was descended not only from the original stock of the Luttrells in Lincolnshire, but also from the branch of the family established in West Somerset.

Anne, the beautiful daughter of this nobleman, married, in 1771, Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, brother of King George the Third, and, in the same year, Joseph Edmondson, Mowbray Herald Extraordinary, compiled a genealogical table professing to trace her descent from the time of William the Conqueror, by means of records, family deeds and the like. It is an elaborate and sumptuous document, written on a roll of fine vellum more than sixteen feet in length, and adorned with eighty shields richly illum-

[1] Bedford, *The Luttrells of Four Oaks*, p. 7. Among other sources of information with regard to this family, there are several articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (vol. xxxiv.), and sections in Ball's *History of the County of Dublin* (part iv. pp. 1-21) and Archdall's edition of Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland* (vol. iii. pp. 407-413).

inated.[1] For the last three centuries covered, this pedigree has every appearance of being authentic ; the early part of it is less satisfactory. The really critical point, however, comes where the genealogist attempts to connect the Irish Luttrells, who bore for arms a chevron between three otters, with the English Luttrells who bore a bend between six martlets. He does it by making a bold statement that the first Sir Hugh Luttrell of Dunster had a younger son Robert, who settled in Ireland and assumed a new shield. No evidence whatever is offered in support of this story.

It might be sufficient to observe that a Herald of the time of George the Third cannot be accepted as an authority with regard to persons who lived in the first half of the fifteenth century, and that the Dunster muniments, so rich in respect to Sir Hugh Luttrell and his children, contain no allusion to a son named Robert. But there is more to be said, of a less negative character, as to the ancestry of the Earl of Carhampton and the Duchess of Cumberland.

It has been seen above (pp. 60, 61) that Geoffrey Luttrell, the first recorded member of the English family of that name, was a minister of King John in Ireland, and acquired land in that country. Robert Luttrell, who may have been related to him, was a Canon of St. Patrick's, Dublin, in 1228, and for a time the King's Chancellor in Ireland.[2] At the close of that century, Michael Luttrell had property near Lucan, in the county of Dublin, at or close to the place afterwards known as Luttrellstown.[3] In 1349, there is mention of a certain Simon Luttrell in the same neighbourhood, and it may be noted that his Christian name recurs in the pedigree of the Irish Luttrells.[4] Lastly, a certain Robert Luttrell, son of John Luttrell, occurs in the reign of Henry the Fifth as owning the land that had belonged to Simon Luttrell some sixty years before.[5] This is, apparently, the very Robert whom Edmondson and others following him have chosen to describe as a younger son of Sir Hugh Luttrell of Dunster.

[1] This pedigree, in its original case covered with red morocco, was recently on sale by Mr. E. Menken of 50 Great Russell Street, London.

[2] *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland, 1171-1251, passim.*

[3] *Ibid. 1285-1292*, pp. 97, 157 ; *Calendar of Justiciary Rolls, 1295-1301*, pp. 76, 222, 301.

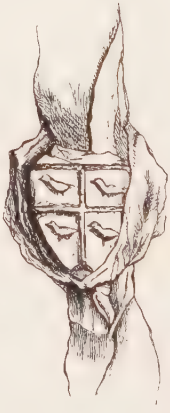
[4] Ball, p. 3.

[5] *Twenty-fourth Report of Deputy Keeper of Records in Ireland*, p. 100.

SEALS 8-10.

8.
Sir Andrew Luttrell.
d. 1265.

9.
Sir Geoffrey Luttrell.
d. 1269 or 1270.



10.
Sir Geoffrey Luttrell.
d. 1269 or 1270.

APPENDIX E.

The Arms and Seals of the Luttrells.

The heraldry of the Luttrell family presents several points of interest, and the series of seals of the Somerset branch, preserved among the muniments at Dunster Castle, is remarkably perfect.

Nothing is known as to the arms that Geoffrey Luttrell, the founder of the family, may have borne. His son, Sir Andrew Luttrell, who died in 1265, granted East Quantockshead to his second son Alexander, and ratified the deed with a seal bearing three bars on a pointed shield, and the legend :—" SIGILL ANDRE LUTEREL. "[1] There are no means of ascertaining what the tinctures of the shield may have been. The woodcut (No. 8) is copied from a finer impression of the same seal in the British Museum.[2]

The bearing of the three bars must have been soon abandoned, for a deed of the year 1261, by which " Geoffrey Luterel, son of Sir Andrew Luterel, " granted common of pasture at Hooton Paynell to the Prior and brethren of St. John of Jerusalem in England, is attested by a green seal (No. 9) bearing the device of six martlets, and the legend—" SIGILL. GALFRIDI LUTEREL. "[3] Another deed, by which the same Geoffrey conveyed the manor of East Quantockshead to his younger brother Alexander, is attested by a white seal (No. 10) which shows four martlets on a shield divided quarterly.[4] The legend round the seal has unfortunately disappeared.

The grandson of Geoffrey Luttrell, of the same name, bore for his arms :—*Azure* a bend between six martlets

[1] D.C.M. XXII, 1.
[2] Add. Charter 21268.
[3] Topham Charter 16.
[4] D.C.M. XXII, 1.

argent.[1] This coat was certainly borne by his descendants the Luttrells of Irnham, co. Lincoln, though some modern books erroneously assign to them the arms of the Luttrells of Somerset.[2] It is, or was, to be seen in the church of Hawton, co. Nottingham,[3] and it occurs several times in the Luttrell Psalter. In that beautiful manuscript, Dame Agnes Luttrell is represented as attired in a dress on which her husband's arms are impaled with those of Sutton—*Or* a lion rampant *vert.* Her daughter-in-law, Dame Beatrice Luttrell, appears in the same illumination in a dress on which the arms of Sir Andrew Luttrell are impaled with *Azure* a bend *or*, a label *argent*, for Scrope of Masham.[4] The arms of a later Sir Andrew are duly blazoned in a roll of the time of Richard the Second as *Azure* a bend between six martlets *argent.*[5] His son, Sir Geoffrey, the last of the Luttrells of Irnham had a beautiful seal (No. 11), on which his arms are shown under a richly mantled helmet crowned with an orle and surmounted by his crest, a fish's tail. The trees on either side of the helmet appear to have been introduced merely as ornaments. The legend runs:—"SIGILLUM GALFRIDI LOUTERELL."[6]

Like their cousins in Lincolnshire, the Luttrells of East Quantockshead bore for arms a bend between six martlets, but with this important difference that the field was blazoned *or* instead of *azure*, and the charges on it *sable* instead of *argent.* Thus, in a Roll of Arms of the reign of Edward the Second, we read:—

> "*Sire Andreu Loterel, de or, a une bende e vj merelos de sable.*
> *Sire Geffrey Loterel, de azure, a une bende e vj merelos de argent.*"[7]

Sir Andrew Luttrell of East Quantockshead is there placed among the knights of the county of Lincoln, because his estates in Somerset were held under his cousin Sir Geoffrey.

[1] Guillim's Roll of Arms of the time of Edward I., printed in *The Genealogist*, vol. i, p. 325.

[2] Nicolas's *Roll of Arms of the reign of Edward II.*, and *Roll of Arms of the reign of Edward III.*

[3] Thoroton's *Antiquities of Nottinghamshire*, vol. i, p. 357.

[4] *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. vi.

[5] Willement's *Roll of Arms.*

[6] Brit. Museum, Add. Charters, 21037, 21038.

[7] Nicolas's *Roll of Arms of the reign of Edward II.*

SEALS 11-14.

11.
Sir Geoffrey Luttrell.
d. 1419.

12.
Sir Alexander
Luttrell.
fl. 1318-1354.

13.
Sir John Luttrell,
K.B.
d. 1403.

14.
Dame Elizabeth Luttrell.
d. 1395.

Sir Alexander Luttrell, the son and successor of this Sir Andrew, used a small seal (No. 12) showing his coat of arms within a decorated quatrefoil. The legend runs :—"SIGILLU. ALEXANDRI LOTERELL." [1]

Sir John Luttrell, K.B. in whom the main line of the Luttrells of East Quantockshead became extinct in 1403, used a small seal (No. 13) bearing his arms and the legend:—"SIGILL. JOHIS LOTERELL." [2] The bend on the shields is cross-barred—an accidental forestalling by two centuries of the modern system of representing *sable* in heraldry.

The Luttrells of Chilton, in Devon, a cadet branch of the Luttrells of East Quantockshead, differenced their shield by the addition of a bordure engrailed *sable*. The seal of Dame Elizabeth Luttrell, the purchaser of Dunster (No. 14), shows the Luttrell arms within this bordure, impaled with those of Courtenay, the whole shield mounted on a double rose. The legend round this beautiful seal is :—"SIGILLUM ELIZABETH LUTERELL." [3] The arms of this Lady Luttrell are, or were, to be seen at Canterbury. [4]

In the month of September 1403, six standards bearing the arms of Sir Hugh Luttrell were delivered to some ships that were to convey provisions to him in Wales from the port of Minehead. [5] When he served under Henry the Fifth, at the siege of Rouen a few years later, his shield was blazoned—*Or*, a bend between six martlets *sable* within a bordure engrailed of the same. [6] These arms appear on the seal (No. 15) which he used during the greater part of his life, for legal and official purposes in England and in Normandy alike. Proud of the Bohun blood that ran in his veins, he placed over his shield a swan, the well-known badge of the Bohun family. The legend on the seal is—"SIGILLUM HUGONIS LUTRELL MILITIS." [7] In attesting private letters, warrants to his receiver-general, and other papers of an informal character, Sir Hugh Luttrell used a small signet (No. 16) bearing a single martlet and two sprigs of foliage, instead of his large heraldic seal. [8] Some impressions of this signet, preserved among the muniments at

[1] D.C.M. XXII. 2.
[2] D.C.M. XXII, 4.
[3] D.C.M. XXXVII, 41.
[4] Willement's *Heraldic Notices of Canterbury*, p. 169.
[5] Page 81 above.
[6] Harl. MS. 1586, f. 85.
[7] D.C.M., and Brit. Museum Add. Charter, 1397.
[8] D.C.M. XI. 1.

Dunster Castle, are attached to documents written on parchment by a little strip of that material as shown in the woodcut; others are affixed to the manuscripts themselves *en placard*, on a foundation made of a twist of straw. Dame Catherine Luttrell, Sir Hugh's wife, used a signet (No. 17) bearing a Catherine-wheel in allusion to her Christian name.[1]

There is in a volume at the College of Arms a bad transcript of a very interesting French deed by which Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, granted his badges to his cousin Sir Hugh Luttrell, in 1421.[2] It runs as follows :—

> "*A tous yceux que cestes nos lettres verront ou orront Hugh Courtnay, Count de Devon et S^r d'Ockhampton, feiz et hair a Mons^r l'honorable (?)*[3] *et tresnoble S^r Edward Courtney, Count de Devon et S^r d'Okhampton, que Dieu assoile, saluz en Dieu. Sachez nous avons don et grante et par ycestes nos lettres confirme a nostre treschere et bon ame coseyn Hugh Lutrel Ch^r et S^r Donstarre nos bages, cest a savoire un Sengler Blanc armé d'or portans come nous portons, avecque un diffrence dun doble rose dor sur lespald en dit sengler, a avoir et tenoir le dites bages de nostre don al dit S^r Hugh de Luttrell et ses heires a tous jours En testmonance de quel chose a ycestes nos presentz lettres nous avons mis nostre seale de nous armes. Donne a Plimmouth le 13 jour de Juell, a temps que nous avons*[4] *priz nostre voyage*[5] *par grace de Deux envers nostre tresouveraigne Roy en Normandie, l'an du raigne le dit nostre S^r le Roy S^r le Henri quint puis le Conquest 9°*" [6]

On the strength of this, the Luttrell crest is given as a boar passant *argent*, armed *or*, charged on the shoulder with a double rose of the second, a notable example of one metal being placed on another. In point of fact the boar was never used as a crest or as a badge by the Luttrells of Dunster. It is possible that the double rose on the seal of

[1] D.C.M. XXII. 11.
[2] C. 22. f. 394.
[3] "*Thome*" in transcript.
[4] "*a nome*" in transcript.
[5] "*Brage*" in transcript.
[6] The year is given as 7 Henry V, instead of 9 Henry V, in a translation of this document in Cleaveland's *History of the Family of Courtenay*, p. 211, but only on the authority of Sampson Leonard, the very Herald who compiled the MS. at the College of Arms. He is said to have seen the original deed with the Earl of Devon's seal attached, but Prynne does not mention it in the Calendar of the Muniments at Dunster Castle which he made in 1650.

SEALS 15-18.

15.
Sir Hugh Luttrell.
d. 1428.

16.
Sir Hugh Luttrell.
d. 1428.

17.
Dame Catherine
Luttrell.
d. 1435.

18.
Sir Hugh Luttrell.
d. 1428.

Dame Elizabeth Luttrell, already described, may have been derived from the Courtenays, though of course not in consequence of the grant to Sir Hugh Luttrell, which was not made until some years after her death. Sir Hugh Luttrell seems to have placed a peculiar interpretation of his own on the grant of his noble kinsman, for, while practically rejecting the badge of the white boar proffered in it, he adopted the crest and the supporters of the head of the Courtenay family. The fine heraldic seal (No. 18), which he used during the last few years of his life, is a free copy of that which the Earl of Devon affixed to the French deed just quoted.[1] On both of them the crest is a large *panache*, or plume of feathers, rising out of a coronet which encircles the helmet; on both of them the supporters are a pair of swans collared and chained, as borne by the Bohuns.

The shield on Sir Hugh Luttrell's second seal shows the bend and the six martlets, without the engrailed bordure which appears on his first seal. By the successive deaths of Sir John Luttrell, K.B. of East Quantockshead, in 1403, and Sir Geoffrey Luttrell, of Irnham, in 1419, Sir Hugh Luttrell had become the chief male representative of his family, and there was no longer any occasion for him to exhibit a mark of cadency on his coat of arms. The legend on his second seal is—"S. HUGONIS [LUTRELL] MILITIS DÑI DE DUNSTERRE."[2]

For many years after attaining his majority, John Luttrell was in the habit of using a seal (No. 19) closely resembling the first seal of his father, Sir Hugh. It will be observed, however, that the swan above the shield is represented with closed wings, and that the shield is charged with a label as a mark of cadency. The legend is:—"SIGILLUM JOHANNIS LUTTRELL ARMIGERI."[3] John Luttrell also had a signet (No. 20) bearing the device of an otter with some water and a letter 'L' below and the letters 'TRELL' above, which was evidently intended as a pun on his surname, as the French for an otter, LOUTRE, when followed by the syllable 'TRELL' made up 'Loutretrell,' or shortly 'Loutrell.'[4] Such a signet, though good enough for an heir apparent, was

[1] There are several impressions of the seal of Hugh, Earl of Devon, in the British Museum.

[2] D.C.M. XXIV. 6.

[3] D.C.M. XXXVII. 46, 52.

[4] D.C.M. XXXVI. 2.

not deemed worthy of the Lord of Dunster, and the lawyers of the day seem to have raised objections to it. The result was that when John Luttrell affixed it to a release, shortly after his father's death, a memorandum was drawn up to the effect that he had sealed the deed with his signet in the presence of certain credible witnesses, but that he would seal it again with a seal bearing his coat of arms after his next visit to London, where he intended to order a suitable seal.[1] He had probably abandoned his first heraldic seal at the time when his father resolved to omit the engrailed bordure from the arms of the Luttrells of Dunster. The new seal engraved for him resembles the later heraldic seal of his father (No. 18), but he is still described on it as 'esquire *(armigeri)*'.[2] It is recorded in the Heralds' Visitation of the county of Devon, that

> "This Sir John tooke the Queen of Scotts prisoner in the fielde, after which hee bare a Coronett for his Creast, and after he took an Earle of France prisoner, and may bere a swan for his Creast, collered and chained."[3]

The story, however, is not supported by any contemporary evidence, and it may safely be dismissed as mythical, inasmuch as the crest-coronet and the chained swan were alike borne by Sir John Luttrell's father and derived from the Courtenays. Dame Margaret Luttrell, the relict of Sir John, did not use a signet, her receipts being simply attested by her signature.

James Luttrell, Sir John's son and successor, bore on his signet (No. 21) a single martlet.[4] His larger seal (No. 22) shows the Luttrell shield supported by swans. Here first appears the crest of an otter which was used by several of

[1] "*Memorandum quod Johannes Lutrell, filius et heres Hugonis Lutrell, sigillavit istam relaxacionem cum signeto suo apud Glastoniam in comitatu Somersetensi tercio die Septembris anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti post conquestum septimo, in presencia Thome Stawell militis, Hugonis Cary senescalli Abbatis Glastonie, Thome Leuesham de Scaccario domini Regis, Willelmi Corner et Thome Colbroke armigerorum, et plurimorum aliorum. Et predictus Johannes Lutrell concessit prefato Hugoni Cary ad sigillandam predictam relaxacionem cum sigillo armorum suorum quando sigillum suum erit factum, quia in veritate sigillum suum non est adhuc factum, sed erit, quando predictus Johannes Lutrell, proxime venerit ad Londoniam, quod erit infra breve tempus.*" Transcript of Surrenden Charters made by the late Rev. Lambert B. Larking.

[2] Court of Wards, Deeds and Evidences, Box 2.

[3] Harl. MSS. 1080, f. 156; 1163, f. 116. The early part of the Luttrell pedigree there given is not entitled to any sort of credit.

[4] D.C.M. xxxv, 4.

SEALS 19-22.

19.
Sir John Luttrell.
d. 1430.

20.
Sir John Luttrell.
d. 1430.

21.
Sir James Luttrell.
d. 1461.

22.
Sir James Luttrell.
d. 1461.

his descendants. The legend is simply :—" JAMES LUTRELL," and the character of the engraving shows the decadence in art.[1]

Sir Hugh Luttrell, K.B. the eventual successor to Sir James, used a somewhat similar seal (No. 23). The legend is :—" HUGH LUTTRELL, KNYGHT."[2] His signet (No. 24) which is square in form bears a martlet reversed and a sprig of foliage.[3] This Sir Hugh Luttrell appears to have put up the heraldic tablet which is to be seen over the western arch of the Gatehouse at Dunster Castle. The Luttrell shield is there represented in the upper compartment as supported on the backs of two swans, collared and chained as usual. Over this is a richly mantled helm *affrontee* and in high relief, carrying as a crest some animal of which the body and the forelegs alone now remain, while above all a second crest, an otter courant, is shown on the same plane as the shield. In the lower compartment there are eight shields:—1. Luttrell (without any bordure) impaling Courtenay ; 2. Luttrell impaling Beaumont; 3. Luttrell impaling Audley; 4. Luttrell impaling Courtenay of Powderham ; 5. Luttrell impaling Hill; 6. Luttrell impaling a blank.[4] The seventh and eighth shields are blank. The arms of Sir Hugh Luttrell, impaling a saltire *vair* between four mullets pierced, the arms of his first wife Margaret Hill, are also on his monument in the church of East Quantockshead.

Sir Andrew Luttrell did not fill up the shield prepared for him on the Gatehouse at Dunster, but his arms impaled with those of Wyndham, a chevron between three lions' heads, are carved on the monument at East Quantockshead. It does not appear whether he ever had a heraldic seal. His signet (No. 25) bears his badge the swan collared, and a French motto which may be read either " TOUS SUR," or " SUR TOUS."[5]

Mention has been made of Dame Margaret Luttrell's bequest to her daughter, Margaret Edgcumbe, of her best and largest carpet, a piece of silken tapestry measuring 18 ft. 3 in. by 6 ft. 7 in.[6] The ground of the central portion is black, ornamented with an elaborate geometrical pattern of

[1] D.C.M. XXXVII, 15.
[2] D.C.M. I. 30 ; II. 4.
[3] D.C.M.
[4] See page 363 above.
[5] D.C.M. V. 18.
[6] Page 141 above.

yellow circles, interlaced with floriated yellow quatrefoils and green squares. In the centre of each circle there is a blue floriated cross radiating from a stiff yellow sunflower : in the centres of the quatrefoils and squares, Tudor roses alternate with honeysuckles. The border has a running pattern of honeysuckles and sunflowers on a red ground. At intervals, white lilies, growing in the border, impinge upon the central part of the design. The heraldic adornments of the carpet are very interesting and beautiful. In the centre, surrounded by a wreath of lilies, honeysuckles, and daisies, and hanging from the neck of a white swan, is the shield of Luttrell impaling Wyndham, with the initials of Sir Andrew Luttrell below.[1] On the left of it, surrounded by a wreath of lilies and daisies, is the shield of Luttrell impaling Hill, with the initials 'H' (reversed) and 'M' below, standing for Sir Hugh Luttrell and Margaret his wife. On the right, surrounded by a wreath of lilies and cherries issuing from a vase, is the shield of Luttrell impaling Courtenay of Powderham, with the initials of Sir James Luttrell above.[2] On these three principal shields, gold thread and silver thread are used for the two heraldic metals. In the border there are twelve simpler shields, varying considerably in shape and size, and placed at irregular intervals without regard to the symmetry of the general design. These are:— Luttrell impaling Beaumont ; Wyndham impaling Scrope quartered with Tibetot ; Luttrell impaling Audley; Luttrell impaling Hill : Luttrell impaling Wyndham ; Luttrell impaling Hill; Luttrell impaling Wyndham; Luttrell impaling Hill ; Luttrell impaling Audley ; Courtenay of Powderham; Beaumont ; Courtenay of Powderham. It will be observed that the arrangement of the shields is casual. There are no crests or mottoes on the carpet. It must have been made for the high table at Dunster or East Quantockshead, between 1514 and 1538, or at latest 1543.

Sir John Luttrell, the 'noble captain,' used a signet (No. 26) which bears a swan collared and chained, without any motto.[3] After his death, this signet was successively used by his brother Thomas, and his nephew George Lut-

[1] See the illustration facing page 137.
[2] See the illustration facing page 120.
[3] D.C.M. XIX. 25. This deed is also signed : — " By me John Luttrell, Squyar."

SEALS 23-27.

24.
Sir Hugh Luttrell, K.B.
d. 1521.

25.
Sir Andrew Luttrell.
d. 1538.

23.
Sir Hugh Luttrell, K.B.
d. 1521.

26.
Sir John Luttrell.
d. 1551.

27.
Nicholas Luttrell.
d. 1592.

trell.[1] It is not certain whether the peacock in the curious allegorical portrait of Sir John Luttrell is intended as an allusion to the *panache* crest of the Luttrell family or as an emblem of Juno. A picture in which his daughter, Lady Copley, is represented in a heraldic mantle has been mentioned above.[2]

Nicholas Luttrell of Honibere, a younger brother of Sir John, bore on his signet (No. 27) a bird which somewhat resembles a crow, but which was doubtless intended to represent a martlet.[3] His descendants, the Luttrells of Hartland, differenced the arms of the Luttrells of Dunster by the addition of a crescent. According to the Heralds' Visitation of Devonshire, they bore as a crest the Courtenay badge granted to Sir Hugh Luttrell by the Earl of Devon, a boar *argent*, armed and crined *or*, charged on the shoulder with a double rose of the second.[4]

On a brass of the year 1566, which was once to be seen in the church of Bryanston, in Dorset, there were engraved the arms of Rogers impaled with those of Luttrell, charged with a mullet for difference, recording the alliance between Sir Richard Rogers of that place and Cecily daughter of Sir Andrew Luttrell, of Dunster.[5]

As has already been stated, Thomas Luttrell of Dunster, and his son "old George Luttrell," the rebuilder of the Castle, used the signet of Sir John Luttrell (No. 26). The latter of these two, however, found it convenient to have a distinctive seal of his own, and reverted to the *panache* crest, which had not been used by his ancestors since the time of the first Sir Hugh Luttrell. His seal (No. 28) shows a plume of twelve feathers arranged in two rows rising out of a crest-coronet.[6] The otter, however, still appears as the crest over the coat of arms which George Luttrell set up in the Hall at Dunster Castle in 1589. The shield there, supported by two swans collared and chained *proper*, is divided quarterly 1 and 4 Luttrell, 2 and 3 quarterly, 1 and 2 *gules* on a chevron *or* three cross-crosslets *sable* for Hadley, 2 and 3 *or* on a bend cotised *sable* three bears' heads *argent*,

[1] D.C.M.
[2] Page 164.
[3] D.C.M. XIV. 12.
[4] Harl. MS. 108, f. 156.
[5] *Diary of Richard Symonds* (Camden Society), p. 128.
[6] D.C.M. VII. 17.

bridled *gules*, for Durborough. The motto baneath is :— "QUÆSITA MARTE TUENDA ARTE." These arms appear again on the pompous monument which George Luttrell set up in Dunster Church in 1621, surmounted in this case by two helmets carrying his crests, the *panache* and the otter. The arms of George Luttrell with the *panache* crest occur at the *Luttrell Arms Hotel*, at Dunster, and at the manor-house of East Quantockshead. In a room on the first floor in the former of these houses, the arms of Luttrell are impaled with a chevron between three trefoils slipped, the reputed arms of Silvestra Capps, the second wife of George Luttrell.

Thomas Luttrell, eldest son and successor of George, used a seal of which the woodcut (No. 29) is to some extent a conjectural restoration, the original impression of it being very much defaced.[1] The arms of this Thomas Luttrell, impaled with those of his wife Jane Popham, *argent* on a chief *gules*, two bucks' heads cabossed *or*, with a crescent for difference, may be seen on the monument in Dunster Church, and at the old house at Marshwood. The arms of his younger brother Hugh, impaled with those of his wife Jane Lyte, *gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, were set up in the domestic chapel of the old manor-house of Lytescary in 1631.

Honora Luttrell, the daughter-in-law of Thomas Luttrell, used a small seal (No. 30) which had doubtless belonged to her husband, George Luttrell. It bears the Luttrell arms with an otter as crest.

Lucy Luttrell, the relict of Francis Luttrell, the next owner of Dunster Castle, used a very similar seal (No. 31).

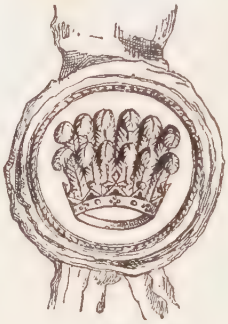
Francis Luttrell, of Dunster Castle, her son, also used a similar seal (No. 32) rather larger in size. His arms, impaled with those of Tregonwell, *argent* three pellets in fesse cotised *sable* between three Cornish choughs *proper*, are introduced into the ornamental frieze of the parlour at Dunster Castle, supported by chained swans and surmounted by a plume of feathers. The Tregonwell crest is there given on a separate medallion.

Colonel Alexander Luttrell, of Dunster Castle, used a seal (No. 33) bearing the Luttrell arms differenced with a

[1] D.C.M. VII. 17.

SEALS 28-35.

30.
Honora Luttrell.
fl. 1652-1656.



28.
George Luttrell.
d. 1629.

33.
Col. Alex. Luttrell.
d. 1711.

31.
Lucy Luttrell.
d. 1718.

34.
Alexander Luttrell.
d. 1737.

29.
Thomas Luttrell.
d. 1644.

32.
Col. Francis Luttrell.
d. 1690.

35.
Alexander Luttrell.
d. 1737.

crescent, as he had been for many years a younger son. The crest resembling a fox is presumably an otter.

Alexander Luttrell, his eldest son and successor, sometimes used this seal, but had another (No. 34) engraved for himself, on which his arms are impaled with those of Trevelyan, *gules* a demi-horse *argent*, hoofed and maned *or*, issuing out of water in base *proper*. He had yet another seal (No. 35), which shows the Luttrell arms supported by chained swans, and surmounted by a well-shaped *panache*. The motto is—'QUÆSITA MARTE TUENDA ARTE.'

Between the date of the death of this Alexander Luttrell and that of her own re-marriage, Margaret his relict used a seal very similar to his smaller seal (No. 34), but with the arms on a lozenge instead of a shield.

Since the marriage of the heiress, Margaret Luttrell with Henry Fownes in 1747, they and their descendants have borne a quarterly shield—1 and 4 Luttrell; 2 and 3 Fownes:—*Azure* two eagles displayed, and in base a mullet *argent*. The crest of the otter has been quietly abandoned, and the fine *panache* crest has dwindled into a plume of five stiff feathers issuing out of a coronet. The motto '*Quæsita marte tuenda arte*' has become practically hereditary, and the successive heads of the family have maintained the claim—so rare among English commoners—of using supporters. The swans of the noble Bohuns and Courtenays are conspicuous on the porch of Dunster Castle.

APPENDIX F.

The Priors of Dunster.

The following is the fullest list of the Benedictine Priors of Dunster that has yet appeared. Such surnames as Hampton, Bristow (*i.e.* Bristol), and Abyndon were not patronymics, and merely indicated the birthplaces of the monks to whom they were applied.

[1257-1274.]	Martin. [1]
[1301.]	R. (Richard of Childeston ?) [2]
[1308.]	Walter. [3]
1332.	Robert of Sutton. [4]
1337.	Adam of Cheddar. [5]
[1355.]	William Thouer. [6]
[1357 ?	Richard of Childeston.] [7]
[1376.]	John Hervey. [8]
[1411-1417.]	William Bristow. [9]
[1423.]	John Buryton. [10]
1425.	John Henton. [11]
[1437.]	William Cary. [12]
[1443.]	Thomas Lacock. [13]
[1449.]	Richard. [14]
[1463.]	William Hampton. [15]
[1470.]	William Bristow. [16]

[1] Cartulary of Mynchin Buckland; D.C.M. VIII. 2; XVII. 1.
[2] *Two Chartularies of Bath*, L. 580. See page 393 above.
[3] *Two Chartularies*, L. 560.
[4] Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. ii. p. 259.
[5] *Two Chartularies*, L. 780.
[6] Assize Roll, no. 772, m. 27.
[7] See page 393 above.
[8] D.C.M. I. 4.
[9] D.C.M. XI. 1; D.C.B. no. 71.
[10] D.C.M. XII. 1.
[11] D.C.B. no. 81; Weaver's *Somerset Incumbents*, p. 361.
[12] D.C.M. XVIII. 6.
[13] D.C.M. XII. 3.
[14] D.C.M. XII. 3.
[15] Brit. Museum Addl. MS. 25887.
[16] D.C.M. XII. 3.

[1489-1494.]	John Abyndon. [1]
[1498.]	Thomas Browne. [2]
[1504.]	Richard Pester. [3]
[1509.]	Thomas. [4]
[1535.]	John Griffith. [5]

The Vicars and Curates of Dunster.

The following is the fullest list that has yet appeared of the priests who successively served the cure of Dunster. It seems to be continuous from 1313 to 1528, but no Curates were instituted by the Bishop between the dissolution of the Priory and 1821. [6] For nearly three centuries, therefore, the parish registers and the churchwardens' accounts are the main sources of information.

	Richard the Chaplain.
[*c.*1213.]	Robert de Vaux.
1313.	Thomas Cote. He exchanged for Timberscombe.
1319.	Ralph of Gloucester. He resigned.
1333.	John of Cherbury.
1333.	Richard of Keynsham.
	Robert of Ichestoke. He resigned, and was presented to Carhampton.
1362.	Robert Drayton.
	Robert Ryvers. He died Vicar.
1406.	John Corbyn. He exchanged for Little Wittenham.
1409.	Roger Holford. He died Vicar.
1415.	William Drayton. He exchanged for Oare.
1417.	Thomas Prydle. He died Vicar.

[1] Weaver's *Somerset Incumbents*, p. 326.
[2] See page 402 above.
[3] *Somerset Medieval Wills*, vol. ii. p. 61.
[4] D.C.M. XIII. 1.
[5] D.C.M. XIII. 4; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. i. p. 220.
[6] See pages 414, 418 above.

1418.	John Bacwell. He died Vicar.
1421.	Thomas Barry. He resigned.
1434.	Thomas Russell. He was deprived.
1446.	William Robbs.
1447.	John Sloo. He died Vicar.
1451.	William Russell. He died Vicar.
1476.	John Lucas. He resigned.
1485.	Richard Harris. He resigned, and was presented to Carhampton.
1494.	Thomas Kyngsbury. He resigned.
1495.	William Bond. He resigned.
1507.	Richard Davys. He resigned.
1511.	William Rogers. He resigned.
1512.	Robert Williamson. He resigned.
1514.	John Fymores.
1515.	William Hooper. He resigned.
1528.	John Thomas.
[1535-1561.]	John Rice. He was buried in September 1561.
[1582.]	William Hodgson.
[1592.]	James Listone.
[1598-1600.]	Christopher Williams. He was buried in April 1600.
1600.	David Williams.
[1603-1638.]	Thomas Smith. He was buried in April 1638.
[1639-1640.]	Robert Browne.
[1641-1642.]	Robert Snelling.
[1661-1662.]	Richard Savin.
[1673-1704.]	John Graunt. He was buried in February 1704.
[1704-1729.]	William Kymer.
[1731-1738.]	John Question.
[1741-1743.]	Robert Norris.
[1743-1745.]	Jeremiah Davies.
[1746.]	William Cox.
[1747.]	Richard Bawden.
[1748-1751.]	James Gould.
[1752.]	Richard Bawden (again).
[1753-1755.]	James Gould (again).

1755.	John Smith.
1755.	Thomas Cooke.
[1756-1758.]	Richard Bawden (again).
[1758-1759.]	John Anthony.
[1759-1773.]	William Camplin.
1773.	George Henry Leigh. He died in August 1821.
1821.	Thomas Fownes Luttrell. He died in December 1871.
1872.	Richard Utten Todd. He died in June 1886.
1886.	Geoffrey Barrington Simeon. He resigned.
1894.	Arthur Wynell Mayow. He resigned.
1898.	Frederick Hancock.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 11.

Yolenta daughter of William de Mohun the Third, married Ralph son of William son of Durand de Mohun, who may have been a distant cousin.[1] He was the principal military tenant of the Honour of Dunster, and he gave his name to Brompton Ralph.[2]

Page 17.

Line 11, *add*:—Roger de Tony granted to William de Mohun, in frank marriage with Juliana his 'kinswoman', presumably his grand-daughter, an annuity of 10*l.* 13*s.* out of the manor of South Tawton in Devonshire. Their issue continued for several generations. John de Mohun, son and heir of John de Mohun, had property at South Tauton in 1305, and a person of the same name was Bailiff of that Hundred in the middle of the fourteenth century. Furthermore, a certain John 'Mahoune' died in April 1393, seised of the annuity mentioned above, and leaving an heir who was under age in 1397.[3]

Page 33, last line.

Sir Nicholas Carew had acquired her marriage for his son, in February 1295, from her aunt Isabel de Fienles, who had in turn acquired it from the Queen-mother.[4]

Page 44.

Sir John de Mohun the Fifth and his wife made an arrangement with the Abbot and Convent of the neighbouring monastery of Cleeve, whereby the latter under-

[1] Mohun Cartulary; *Bruton Cartulary*, (S.R.S.) pp. 55, 60; B.M. Addl. Charter 11160; Pipe Roll, no. 56.

[2] Assize Roll, no. 1262, m. 6*d.*

[3] *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, vol. xxxiii. p. 431; vol. xxxiv pp. 610, 618; Inq. post mortem (Earl of Warwick), C. 1. file 264.

[4] MS. 33. at Haccombe, co. Devon.

took that certain masses should be said for them to the end of time by one of their number, to be called 'Mohun's monk'.[1]

Page 49.

In illustration of the remarkable position occupied by Lady de Mohun during her husband's lifetime, we may notice a royal grant to her of a wardship while she was a '*feme covert.*'[2]

Page 95.

The following letter from Sir Hugh Luttrell to Henry the Fifth was written in 1420, four days after the marriage of that prince to Catherine daughter of the French King :—[3]

"Wel excellent, and myghtyfull Prince, my redoubtabel and souverain Lord, I yowr meke and trewe lige recommande me unto yowr heye and soveraine noblesce as mekely as I can or may. Unto the whyche lyke to wyte that wyth all lowlynesse I have yreceyved yowr worshipfull lettres, the whiche of yowr benigne grace ye have enclyned yow to sende unto me, not having reward unto my simplenesse of my persone but to the exaltation of yowr heye discretion, in also much as I am unworthy therto ; be the which I have undurstonde that the Creatour of all thyng of Hise heygh pourveance hath used yow in herte to bryng yow unto the conclusion of perpetual pes betux the two remes (realms) that ever owt of mende of ony cronicles han ben in discention, schewyng yow fortune to conclude and bring at an ende that noo mankynde myght hyr bifore have iwroght ; thankyng God wyth meke herte that He hath isend unto me that grace to abyde that tyme for to seye hyt, as for the gretist gladnesse and consolation that ever come unto my herte, not dredyng in my self that He that hath send yow that grace in so schort a tyme schal send yow moch more in tyme commyng.

"And as towchyng my simple persone yif yow lyke to wyte, at the makyng of this lettre, I was desesed of

[1] Mohun Cartulary.

[2] *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1360-1364*, p. 337.

[3] Sir Henry Ellis ascribes this letter to the year 1421. (*Original Letters*, Second Series, vol. i. p. 84.)

my persone be the hond of owre Creatour, in so moch that I may not exerce myn office as my will were, as yowr trewe knyght Sir John Colville and Maister Pierres your phisicien[1] schall enfourme yow more playnely than I may write unto yow at this tyme; wheruppon I have isend yowr men that were in my company unto my Lord of Salsbery, for to do yow service ther, as most neth ys as this tyme, for in this sith in the bailliage of Caux, ne in the march of Picard, blessed be God, ther ys no steryng of none evyl doers, saf byonde the rivere of Sayne toward the Basse Normandy of certaine brigaunts. And whan God of His grace fowchsaf to bryng me owt of Hise prison, I schal gouverne me in the excercise of myn office at yowr worship, and as I am ihold for to doo.

"And as towchyng my worshipfull lord the Duke of Bedford, yowr brother, atte hyse arrivayl I rood agayn hym to the Kyef de Caux, and told hym the poverte of this countre. Wheruppon he gouverned hym and all yowr men in hise company in swych maner that all thyse countre blesseth hym and hyse meyny (retinue) in swych wyse that I have ihad noo complainte of ham eftir hyse partyng. Wherfore be my simple discretion he ys thankworthy, the which I remete unto yowr hygh discretion.

"More can not I say at this tyme, but I pray unto God of Hys grace encresce yow in worship, prosperite, and perfit joye, and send yow good lif and long lastyng. Iwrite at yowr town of Harefleu the vj^{te} day of June,

Yowr meke lyge
Hugh Luttrell."

"A treshault et tresexcellent Prince nostre tresedoubte et tressouverain seignur le Roy de France et d'Engleterre".

Page 105.

In line 8, for 'mendding' *read* 'mending'.

[1] Piers de Alcobasse.

Page 157.

In an inventory of the pictures belonging to Lord Lumley in 1590, there is mention of portraits

> "Of Sir John Lutterel, who died of the sweat in King Edward 6th's time".
>
> "Of Mr. Thomas Wyndeham, drowned in the sea returneinge from Ginney".[1]

These are presumably the pictures now at Badmondisfield Hall and Longford Castle. The inventory describes several portraits as painted by Hans Eworth, an artist from Antwerp, who may have used the monogram 'HE', and may have executed many of the works hitherto attributed to Lucas d'Heere, including both the portraits of Sir John Luttrell. As he was resident at Southwark in 1552,[2] the dates agree well enough.

Page 269.

In line 7, *for* Carhampton *read* Withycombe.

Page 271.

In line 6, *for* '1872' *read* '1871'.

The date under the portrait of John Fownes Luttrell, opposite, should be '1782', as in the text.

Page 275.

Mr. Hugh Courtenay Fownes Luttrell has a son, William, born in December 1908.

Mr. Claude Mohun Fownes Luttrell is a Director of Stuckey's Banking Company, Limited.

Page 393.

In line 9 of the footnote, *for* 'Richard', *read* 'R'.

Page 424.

After line 22 *add*:— It is, however, possible that, in the fifteenth century, there were at least two screens under the central tower of Dunster Church, that is to say a rood-screen between the two western piers and a choir-screen between the two eastern piers. The screen now in the south transept may consequently represent the

[1] Milner & Benham, *Records of the Lumleys*, p. 331.

[2] *Return of Aliens* (Huguenot Society), vol. i. p. 235.

latter. At the time of its removal to its present position, it was reduced in height, and the cornice was freely altered.

Page 425.

In the last line, *for* Margery *read* Margaret.

Page 480.

In line 32, *add:* — Thomas Mohun and Isabel his wife, who was almost certainly a daughter of Richard and Margaret Eyr, were living in 1398 and 1418. They had a son William.[1] The names Isabel and Elizabeth were synonymous.

Page 497.

William de Mohun of Carhampton is described, in 1311, as son of Sir William de Mohun.[2]

John Mohun and Joan his wife had episcopal licence for an oratory at Puslinch in 1405.[3]

Reynold Mohun, Rector of Alphington in Devonshire died in 1398.[4]

Page 509.

In the last line but one of the text, *for* 'Geoffrey' *read* 'Godfrey.'

Page 543.

Add:— There is a heraldic seal of Sir John Luttrell or Chilton attached to a deed (no. 202) of the year 1340 in the possession of the Mayor and Corporation of Exeter.

[1] *Stafford's Register* (ed. Hingeston Randolph), pp. 274, 277; Ancient Deeds (P.R.O.), A. 10546.

[2] D.C.M. XVII. 1.

[3] *Stafford's Register*, p. 273.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 141.

GENERAL INDEX.

All places not otherwise described are in Somerset.

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